

THE FIRST FIFTY YEARS OF
THE RHODES TRUST AND
THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS

1903—1953



THE FOUNDER
from the
posthumous
portrait by
James Gunn
in the
Milner Hall,
Rhodes House

The First Fifty Years
of
The Rhodes Trust and
The Rhodes Scholarships
1903—1953

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PREFACE

BY THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY, C.H.¹
Senior Rhodes Trustee

IT is well that the story of the first fifty years of the Rhodes Trust should be told by those who have been themselves instrumental in interpreting and giving practical effect to the ideas and ideals embodied in Cecil Rhodes's memorable Will. Fortunate, too, that Sir Francis Wylie should, at the close of his long life, have been able to recall the circumstances, the difficulties and the humours of those early years in which his undefeated enthusiasm and genial temper overcame the many initial obstacles which Oxford conservatism presented to his revolutionary demands. His reminiscences, Sir Carleton Allen's and Dr. Frank Aydelotte's, within the general framework of Lord Elton's summary, tell a story which will be of the liveliest interest, not only to past and present Rhodes Scholars, but to all concerned with the wider educational issues which underlie it.

A survey such as this naturally raises—and should in a measure at least answer—two questions. What has Rhodes's benefaction enabled Oxford to give to those for whom it was intended and to the world outside? And what has Oxford, as a University, itself gained from that benefaction?

Comparatively few Rhodes Scholars have attained high distinction in active politics. But Rhodes's conception of public service was never confined to so narrow a field. The life of a country, especially of a young country, is shaped by its teachers and its lawyers quite as much as by its party politicians. In these two domains Rhodes Scholars have not only achieved outstanding success for themselves, but have made a powerful contribution to the national life of their countries. In a more limited sense Oxford has profoundly influenced teaching methods

¹ Mr. Amery died on September 16, 1955, while this volume was in the press.

in both American and Commonwealth Universities. But more generally it is the outlook upon intellectual and moral problems which Rhodes Scholars have, in their very differing individual ways, derived from Oxford that has exercised its influence, not only in the case of teachers, but in all the professions that Rhodes Scholars have taken up. Such 'chain reactions' are no less powerful because they are not susceptible to direct measurement. In any case the vast majority of Rhodes Scholars have taken away with them, not only an outlook, but a background of unfading memories and a sense of a world-wide comradeship which has meant much in their own lives.

What of Oxford itself? There, too, we can note both the more immediate effect on the course of studies and the wider impact on the whole outlook and character of the University. As the survey brings out, the coming of the Rhodes Scholars at any rate hastened the breaking down of the old rigid insistence on Greek and Latin. But the tendency, in recent years at least, has been not so much to the detriment of the humanities, as to the widening of their purview, especially in the direction of social, political and economic studies. Again the practical needs of Rhodes Scholars have steadily reinforced the growing recognition of the importance of research, of the fact that a great University cannot live merely by transmitting an existing stock of knowledge and ideas, but must make its contribution to the enlargement of both. Where the Rhodes Scholars have come in has been that these changes have been accompanied by so great a simultaneous widening of Oxford's horizon. What was the University of one particular country, and, indeed, largely of a limited class, has come to feel itself the University, not only of a nation but of the whole English-speaking world; a *universitas* not only in the range of its studies but in the breadth and tolerance of its outlook; cherishing the traditions of the past as a guide to the endeavours and hopes of a wider future.

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

BY LORD ELTON

THIS volume, which is to be presented to all former Rhodes Scholars, is intended primarily for domestic consumption. Informal and episodic, it does not claim to be a history of the Rhodes Scholarships, still less a history of the Rhodes Trust. The core of it will be found in the personal reminiscences, by Wylie and Allen, of fifty years of the Rhodes Scholarships, and the Rhodes Scholars, in Oxford. To these is appended a survey by Frank Aydelotte, American Secretary from 1918 to 1952, of the evolution of election procedure in the United States, our largest constituency, and incidentally of the influence which the Rhodes Scholarships have exercised there. As for myself, I have attempted to provide in advance the background against which these three stories may be read. The General Secretary is responsible to the Trustees for every aspect of the working of the Trust, and in the following pages I have tried to convey a brief introductory impression of its world-wide activities and problems during the last fifty years.

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THE EARL OF ROSEBERY
A Trustee appointed by the Will
Resigned 1917
From the cartoon by Spy, in *Vanity Fair*



THE EARL GREY
A Trustee appointed by the Will
Died 1917
From the cartoon by Spy, in *Vanity Fair*



ALFRED BEIT

A Trustee appointed by the Will
Died 1906



SIR LEANDER STARR JAMESON, BART

Trustee appointed by a codicil of the Will
Died 1917

I

THE RHODES TRUST

A retrospect

BY LORD ELTON

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS

IN early April 1902, less than a fortnight after Mr. Rhodes's premature death, the startling contents of his Will were published, and the ground plan of the Rhodes Scholarships became known to the world. Suddenly, and much sooner than they had once had a right to expect, there had descended upon his first Trustees responsibilities of an unprecedented character and of unpredictable consequences; responsibilities, moreover, which, it may well have appeared to the world at large, they were curiously ill-fitted to discharge. For the complex task of winding up the great estate in South Africa and elsewhere, for the administration of the valuable properties in Rhodesia, for the judicious dispensing in due course of assistance to deserving individuals and causes, for all these familiar consequences of a great public benefaction who could have been better qualified than Lord Rosebery, Lord Milner and Lord Grey, the trusted elder statesmen, than Alfred Beit and Dr. Jameson, who in business and politics had long been Mr. Rhodes's intimate co-adjudicators, Sir Lewis Michell, his trusted banker, and Bourchier Hawksley, his lawyer? The qualifications of his Trustees for administering a great educational foundation—designed (at first) to bring to Oxford sixty 'young Colonists' (twenty a year) with ninety-six 'young students from the United States of North America' (thirty-two a year) and fifteen 'students of German birth' (five a year)—were, however, a good deal less obvious. For their academic experience was slight and their first-hand knowledge of Oxford slighter still. Lord Milner, who, from 1914, or thereabouts, until his death, was to play a dominant role, had, it is true, long been a Fellow of New College; and Lord Rosebery, who was the chief influence during the early

years of the Trust, had been sent down from Christ Church without a degree in 1869 owing to his refusal to part with his racing stud; but these appeared to be comparatively slender foundations on which to build the administration of so munificent and so revolutionary a benefaction to the University.

For that Mr. Rhodes's Will would be revolutionary was already apparent. His Scholars were to be selected not merely, like all other scholars, for scholastic attainments—they must not be 'merely bookworms'—but for qualities of character which the Will particularized at some length. The Founder desired, as he had explained in a private letter, 'the best men for the world's fight'. Who, moreover, had previously imagined so sudden and formidable an influx of young 'Colonists' and young Americans into an ancient University? The first doubts and heart-searchings which the project naturally aroused at Oxford (and of which Sir Francis Wylie gives an amusing account later in this volume) had their counterpart both in the Empire and in the United States: if not a few Oxford dons trembled at the prospect of an incursion of young barbarians, there were those overseas who were disposed to shake their heads over the probable influence of an effete University upon the virile youth of the new world. Yet both the Founder's basic innovations proved seminal. The example of Scholarships awarded for qualities of character as well as intellect would in course of time be widely imitated both here and overseas, and the influx into Oxford from overseas which he initiated would prove to be the prelude to a steadily developing two-way traffic. Nor is the explanation simply that the Founder was both a visionary and a shrewd man of affairs. Although a devoted son of Oxford, he had spent his life far removed from Universities, and it was from without that his penetrating common sense was brought to bear upon the academic scene. It is not, after all, so surprising that he should have selected Trustees whose varied qualifications did not include much collective experience of the University and its problems.

But while it is true that Mr. Rhodes viewed the academic scene and its problems with the detachment and freshness of

vision to be expected of an observer of genius from another world, it would be a profound mistake to think of the Founder, as some were at first inclined to think of him, as a man of action only, a stranger to the world of learning, whose unacademic prejudices were reflected in the novel character of his Scholarships. For this was the man who found time, in the intervals of a business career in South Africa, to travel five times to Oxford to obtain a University education, who loved Oxford and who read and pondered all his life. The Founder, Mr. Amery has written,¹

has often been described as an Elizabethan; the suggestion behind the adjective being that with his patriotism and his vision there was something of the love of gain for the sake of power, and of the lack of scruple in the methods adopted, of the men of that great age. But it is always worth remembering that those men were mostly scholars and men of intense religious feeling as well as adventurers eager both for material rewards and for glory. They were passionately excited by the new learning of the classical Renaissance as well as by its offshoot, the Reformation. . . . So, too, Rhodes. The man who amalgamated the diamond industry, who created the Chartered Company and dreamed of extending British influence from the Cape to Cairo . . . was also the man whose guiding star was Aristotle's definition of happiness as activity in excellence, whose pocket was never without his well-thumbed Marcus Aurelius, who had the whole of the classics specially translated for himself, and whose lasting memorials are the name of a great country and an educational endowment.

* * *

Clearly, however, the Trustees would need expert advice, and they were singularly happy in their choice of an adviser. In the early summer of 1902 they invited Dr. George Parkin, as Organizing Secretary, to undertake the task of translating the great idea into a working system. Parkin, who was fifty-six, and had matriculated at Oxford on the same day as the Founder, was a Canadian cast in the prophetic mould. A non-Collegiate student, he had positively been elected Secretary of the Union

¹ *My Political Life*, vol. i, pp. 181-2.

in his first term at Oxford, after an impassioned plea for a united Empire which earned him the admiring friendship of Asquith and Milner. Religion, and after that the Empire, were the dominant influences in his life. In Canada, to which he returned as a schoolmaster, he soon became a recognized leader in the Church of England, and from 1889 to 1895, first in Australasia and then in England, he preached imperial sentiment in general, and Imperial Federation in particular, on behalf of the short-lived Imperial Federation League, with a fiery eloquence which, as Buckle of *The Times* once said, 'shifted the mind of England'. He was a gifted writer and one of the most impressive public speakers of his day. And he possessed immense personal charm. Most photographs of Parkin, and the bust at Rhodes House, contrive to suggest a brooding melancholy, but the 'dishevelled gaiety', to which Wylie refers, was more familiar to his friends. From 1895 he had been for seven years Headmaster of Upper Canada College, in Toronto, and was transforming it into a public school in the tradition of Arnold and Thring. But he scarcely hesitated when he received the Trustees' invitation.

From September to December 1902 Parkin was in Oxford, smoothing out, with remarkable success, the initial difficulties with University and College authorities. But by the following February the Trustees had decided to appoint an Oxford Secretary, (Sir) Francis Wylie, to relieve Parkin of the Oxford problems, and to assume paternal supervision of the Rhodes Scholars when in due course they should arrive in Oxford. It was a no less prescient selection than that of Parkin himself, and so outstanding were the services of each man in his own field that each has on occasion been dubbed the second founder of the Rhodes Scholarships. How he wrestled with the problems of the Scholarships in Oxford, Wylie himself has narrated in the following chapter with characteristic lightheartedness and lucidity, and a vividness of memory astounding in a man of over eighty. But the problems to be solved outside Oxford were even more formidable than those which would confront the University, and now, in February 1903, Parkin was ready to begin

solving them, and to embark upon the first of those far-ranging journeys which laid the foundations of the Rhodes Scholarship system as we know it.

Who was to select the Scholars? How were the wishes intimated by the Founder to be translated into formal regulations? Were candidates to be schoolboys, undergraduates or graduates? Must they be unmarried? Such were a few of the interrogation marks to which Parkin must find the answers. And beyond them all loomed his central task, to commend to America and the Empire the Founder's vision, which was assuredly also his own, of Oxford as a nursery of leaders, the energizing source of Empire and the womb of a thousand years of peace for mankind.

He went first to the United States. In May, after a brief holiday in Italy, he set off, with his wife, round the world, to South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Bermuda, the West Indies, Newfoundland and Eastern Canada, travelling 140,000 miles in two years, holding conferences, seeking interviews, forming committees and rousing enthusiasm. Nor were his journeys by any means always luxurious: the lengthy letters, usually to Hawksley, of which our early files are full, report not a few contretemps.

I had some odd experiences after leaving Jamaica. I had arranged to cross to Cuba, but as the tourist season was over, the regular boat to Santiago had been taken off. There was some doubt whether I could cross at all, but at last I found a cattle ship sailing from Port Antonio to the north coast of Cuba. A stormy night on a Norwegian tramp vessel, with 300 loose oxen on the decks, is an experience not easily forgotten. After that, a banana car over a newly-constructed line in a tropical downpour on an intensely dark night for thirty or forty miles furnished an additional touch of life under new conditions.

Yet everywhere, his biographer recalls, he was interested and interesting. And everywhere during these first travels and the many later journeys which followed them he encountered problems which neither the Founder nor the Trustees could have foreseen. One obvious lacuna in the Will, indeed, Parkin disposed of at once. The Founder had created only two Canadian Scholar-

ships, for Ontario and Quebec. In 1903, on Parkin's advice, the Trustees established Scholarships for the remaining six provinces. But in country after country a bewildering variety of alternative methods of selection—nomination by University Senates, by Professorial Boards, by prominent public officials, even by one Committee for the whole of the United States—were examined and rejected. And gradually, in his successive reports to the Trustees, a practicable system, homogeneous though as yet far from uniform, began to take shape. For a while in some constituencies appointments were to be made by Universities in rotation, but in most of them special Selection Committees were established at once. Inevitably these prototypes were a good deal more official in character than the Committees of to-day: in the United States, for example, they consisted mainly of College Presidents and in Canada of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chief Justice and the Chief Superintendent of Education. No doubt such galaxies of notabilities lent prestige to the nascent Scholarships. They may even have been held to guarantee the impartiality of a selection not based upon written examinations—though we have a glimpse of President (Teddy) Roosevelt warning Parkin not to include State Governors on his Committee: 'Take my friend here, for instance', he exclaimed, pointing to a Governor, 'if he were on the committee he would be thinking all the time how he could use it for the next election'. Nevertheless, not all the Presidents and Lieutenant-Governors could be relied on to know much about Oxford, or even perhaps always to spare sufficient time for the not unexacting task of investigating rival claims, and it is not surprising that since Parkin's day official membership has increasingly disappeared.

As to the procedure of the Committees when constituted—their dealings with referees and testimonials and their development of the personal interview which is the core of the system—all this would evolve gradually with experience accumulated in many different countries and co-ordinated to the best of his ability by the General Secretary; but the Founder's objective, and

their own task, then as now, could hardly have been put to the Committees more succinctly than when Parkin told a Convention of University and College Presidents in Chicago that provided they would select from each State the candidate most likely to become President of the United States, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court or American Ambassador to Great Britain, then Oxford and the Rhodes Trustees would probably be satisfied. Perhaps it was some lingering folk-memory of this aphorism which inspired an American newspaper, some while later, to headline its announcement of a local candidate's election to a Rhodes Scholarship with 'Is he the perfect man?' Unfortunately for the Scholar-elect, who in sober truth was not specially qualified to set the *Isis* on fire, word of these disconcerting home-town eulogies reached Oxford before he did, and during his first term he was gratified, if a trifle embarrassed, by the number of invitations which he received from second and third year men in his College. It was not till some time afterwards that he learnt that his hosts had been charging a small fee for the privilege of an introduction to the perfect man.

As to the age at which a young man from the Empire or the United States could most profitably be sent to Oxford, wherever Parkin went there was animated debate. No less an authority than President Eliot of Harvard was for schoolboy candidates, and so, somewhat surprisingly, a good many years later, was Dr. Montagu Rendall, who went on a world tour for the Trustees shortly after he retired from the Headmastership of Winchester in 1924. But Oxford, the Colonial Office and the majority opinion overseas were decisively in favour of older men. It was felt that they would be better qualified to stand up to the arduous process of acclimatization, mental and physical, and better fitted to get the most possible out of Oxford, and that with them there would be less risk than with schoolboys of the Scholarships (as the Founder had put it) 'withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth'. Moreover, owing to the high standard of sixth-form work in the English public schools it seemed unlikely that schoolboys

from overseas would be able to compete on equal terms with English freshmen. And so from the outset the regulations required, almost everywhere, that candidates should be aged between nineteen and twenty-five and should already have spent two years at a University in their home countries.

The United States seems to have provided the Rhodes Scholarships with their most formidable initial problems, as well as their most outspoken critics. There was Andrew Carnegie, for example, who told Parkin that he would never induce the best young Americans to go to Oxford, because Oxford could not give them what they most wanted; which, he explained, was dollars. And President Lowell of Harvard, who gave it as his opinion that owing to their highly specialized character success in American athletics should probably be regarded as a disqualification for a Rhodes Scholarship. Not to speak of Henry James, who protested vehemently against the prospective desecration of Oxford by an irruption of young barbarians. There was the powerful counter-attraction of American commerce and industry to be contended with too. To this day, indeed, at any conference of former American Rhodes Scholars some speaker is likely to complain that too large a proportion of the fraternity has taken to academic life, and that all too seldom (as I have heard one enthusiast put it) has a 'bow-legged cowboy from Wyoming' been elected. To which Parkin himself supplied one obvious answer when he pointed to the remarkable influence over American public opinion exercised by University Presidents, such as Eliot, Lowell or Butler—and even argued that the Founder's desire for the man who would 'esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim' would be best fulfilled in America by electing Rhodes Scholars whose ambition was to attain high academic status. This particular phrase in the Will, however, is calculated to give rise to perennial speculation, and successive General Secretaries have devoted a considerable amount of time to interpreting it, against their varied contemporary backgrounds, to Selection Committees all over the world.

From 1905 to 1910 Parkin's base was in England, and his home

at Goring was constantly open to visiting Rhodes Scholars from Oxford. But he made frequent journeys to Canada and the United States, and paid a second visit to South Africa. And in 1917 and 1919 he toured Canada and the United States, partly to investigate the Scholarships, but chiefly to deliver a series of stirring and prescient speeches on the war and Anglo-American relations. He received a belated knighthood in 1920, to the satisfaction of countless friends, ranging, it has been said, from Prime Ministers to professional poachers. When he retired a few months later, at the age of seventy-four, Wylie wrote of him truly that

he brooded over the beginnings of the Scholarship system; it was his thought that brought it form. No other man has given so much of himself to its growth, or made so much of its meaning his own.

* * *

Hitherto Parkin had organized the Scholarships overseas, and Wylie had long been overseeing them in Oxford. But there remained much of the Trustees' business which fell within the department of neither. The estate itself, after all, had to be administered. Moreover, from the outset the Trustees had commenced their continuing benefactions to a variety of good causes akin to, but distinct from, the Scholarship foundation itself. Indeed, as Wylie recalls, almost as soon as the terms of the Will were announced there had been discreet intimations from Oxford that if financial assistance from the Trustees should be forthcoming it would certainly not be rejected by the University; for after all, thanks to pious benefactors in the past, every Oxford College was able to spend a good deal more upon its undergraduates than it found it necessary to charge them, so that every Rhodes Scholar would in effect be receiving an invisible grant-in-aid from the College which admitted him. Although the Founder himself had not explicitly suggested benefactions to Oxford (and though he suggested that the University should develop its medical school, he made no provision to enable it to do so), the Trustees had recognized the undoubted force of these

representations, and during the early years they had been making an interesting series of contributions for University purposes. Thus an annual grant towards a Lecturership in Pathology, which commenced in 1906, was still running in 1920, as was a subvention of the Readership in English Law, originated in 1910. In 1917, £1,000 was contributed to the Chair of Forestry. Again, in 1914 Percy Matheson had written to suggest to Lord Milner that the Trustees might assist in financing the Readership in Pharmacology, and it may be that Lord Milner found the solitary argument which his correspondent adduced—that Pharmacology figured in a school not infrequently studied by Rhodes Scholars—irresistible in itself; but it is at least possible that he was not uninfluenced by the facts that Percy Matheson was a friend and colleague at New College, and that the Trustees were on the look out for convenient methods of signalizing their sense of obligation to the University. In any event, the grant to this Readership too was still being paid in 1920. But these are all comparatively modest examples of the Trustees' early contributions; more munificent had been their gift of £20,000 to establish an Oxford Professorship of Roman Dutch Law in 1919. And outside Oxford they had made very large benefactions to Rhodes University College in South Africa, and generous grants to the Victoria League and other organizations. The tradition thus already established, of assistance both to Oxford and to many other good causes, was to be maintained, and expanded, in the years to come.

One early benefaction to the University I have not mentioned above since it came not from the Rhodes Trust but from a Rhodes Trustee. But the foundation of the Beit Professorship and Lecturership in Colonial History was so closely associated with the arrival of the Rhodes Scholars in Oxford, and the story of its origin throws such an interesting light on two men who did much to shape the history of the Rhodes Trust, that I must quote it here, as recounted by Mr. Amery in the first volume of *My Political Life*:¹

My own direct connexion with the administration of the Trust only

¹ p. 184.

began in 1919. But I can claim to have made a small but useful contribution to its purposes from the start. Not long after my return from South Africa I realized that when the first Rhodes Scholars arrived they would find practically no provision at Oxford for the teaching of history of the British Empire, or even anything like an adequate supply of books on the subject. A casual telephone message in June 1904 from Leverton Harris asking me to come to a small men's dinner and mentioning that Alfred Beit would be one of the party gave me my chance. I said I would cut another engagement and come if he would put me next to Beit, whom I had not met, but knew to be, not only a trustee, but deeply inspired by Rhodes's ideals. To Beit I launched out at once on the absurd situation the Rhodes Scholars would find if they thought they could learn anything, at the heart of the Empire, of that Empire's history. As a practical man he asked me what was needed to meet the deficiency. Happily I had thought it out and replied at once: 'A professor of Colonial History at £900 a year; an assistant or reader at £300; £50 a year for special books; another £50 for a prize essay; say £1,300 in all'. Beit reflected a moment and then said: 'Yes, I'll do it'. It was all fixed up before we had finished soup. I took the next train to Oxford and All Souls and, with Warden Anson's help, set all the official wheels going without delay. Beit subsequently endowed the Chair to the tune of some £40,000. I have often been a sturdy beggar for good causes, but never secured so much for so good a cause in so short a time.

Hitherto, while the Scholarships remained the concern of Parkin and Wylie, a succession of Secretaries in London had handled the other business of the Trustees. From 1902 to 1905 Douglas Brodie and Charles Boyd had shared the responsibility; from 1905 to 1908 Boyd, whom Wylie found 'friendly, light-hearted and amusing', held office alone. In 1908 Mrs. Mavor (afterwards Lady Butterworth) became Acting Secretary and served with the utmost efficiency until 1916, when she was succeeded by T. L. Gilmour. It was not until 1919 that the first General Secretary was appointed—to take over from Parkin the general administration of the Scholarships, and from Gilmour all the business of the London office. Henceforth all questions to be considered by the Trustees, whether originating in Oxford or

elsewhere, would reach them through the General Secretary. For a long while this arrangement was a source of considerable mystification to the University. For until 1939 the General Secretary's office would remain in London; he was not much seen in Oxford, and when at the outbreak of the second world war, after I had taken over the Secretaryship from Lothian, we were evacuated to Oxford, I found few of my friends in the University able to distinguish between my duties and those of the Oxford Secretary, C. K. Allen. There is less cause for confusion now, for the General Office of the Trust has remained in Oxford since the war—it proved a good deal more convenient, as well as a good deal cheaper, to maintain headquarters in Oxford and pay occasional visits to London—and there is no longer an Oxford secretary, his office having been transformed into the Wardenship of Rhodes House.

At first the General Secretaryship was fated to be an affair of Box and Cox. The first General Secretary was Lieutenant-Colonel (Sir) Edward Grigg, afterwards Lord Altrincham. A New College man, he had won the Gaisford Greek Verse prize at Oxford and had served with distinction on *The Times* and in the Grenadier Guards. Almost as soon as he had been appointed he was invited to become Military Secretary to the Prince of Wales, and accompanied him first to Canada and subsequently to Australia and New Zealand. Fortunately for the Trustees, Geoffrey Dawson chanced just then to have vacated the editorship of *The Times*, and he agreed to act for the Trustees during Grigg's absence. Returned from his Empire tours, Grigg relieved Dawson. But not for long, for in 1921, becoming Private Secretary to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, he resigned his office with the Trust, and once more Dawson took his place. Once more, however, tenure was to be brief. For in 1923 the death of Lord Northcliffe and the fall of Mr. Lloyd George's government had combined to reverse the situation; with some hesitation Dawson decided to return to the editorship of *The Times* (and himself soon afterwards became a Rhodes Trustee), and Grigg (who was by now National Liberal Member of Parliament for Oldham)

was free. He became General Secretary once more, this time for two years, until in 1925 he was appointed Governor of Kenya. These somewhat bewildering interchanges might perhaps have impaired the smooth working of the Trust had not both Box and Cox been exceptionally able men, accustomed to hold similar views on Trust affairs. Moreover, Lord Milner, alone of the original Trustees, was still in office, and his strong will and preternaturally clear sight exercised a powerful influence on the Trust's policy. 'On all practical problems', Mr. Amery has written of him,¹ 'whether of finance and economics, of administration or war, his strength lay in that unerring grasp of essentials and in the consequent simplicity which is the highest expression of genius.' It is fitting that the Milner Hall, at the heart of Rhodes House, should perpetuate the memory of the Trustee who played a dominant part in the formative years of both the Scholarships and the Trust.

And after these frequent changes at the apex, a headquarters staff destined to give the Trust long and faithful service would come into existence. Eric Millar, friendly and conscientious, had already become Assistant Secretary in 1921, and would remain till 1939, repeatedly holding the fort during Lothian's absences abroad. And Miss Bain and Miss Osmond, who are still serving the Trust, would join it in 1925 and 1928 respectively.

¹ *My Political Life*, vol. ii, p. 211.

CHAPTER II

LORD LOTHIAN AND THE YEARS OF PEACE

IN 1925 Philip Kerr, afterwards eleventh Marquess of Lothian, took over the General Secretaryship. His was to be the first tenure of considerable length and he could hardly have been better equipped for it. Like his predecessor, he was a New College man, who had served as Secretary to Mr. Lloyd George while Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister. After Oxford, where he took a First in History, he had gone to South Africa as junior member of Milner's famous 'Kindergarten', and had taken an active part in bringing about the Act of Union and later had edited the *Round Table*. Wylie wrote of him:

The informality of his bearing, while it could not hide the fine breeding which underlay it, helped him to get quickly on an easy footing with anyone with whom he might be thrown. He was prepared to find anyone interesting who could tell him things he wanted to know; and there was scarcely any limit in the things that Philip Kerr wanted to know.

He would make friends, for the Rhodes Trust and himself, all over the Commonwealth and, very notably, in the United States. He worked with astonishing speed and his many interests and varied contacts all enriched his service to the Trust. His most disconcerting characteristic, a recurrent tendency to fall suddenly asleep at inopportune moments, was all the more alarming since he was much addicted to driving powerful cars at high speeds. Between 1925 and 1939, when he was to become British Ambassador in Washington, many large problems of reorganization and policy were to confront the Trust, and on all of them Lothian left the stamp of his luminous and friendly intelligence. When I succeeded him, in the summer of 1939, he told me that, so far as he could see, all the major problems had been solved. He



VISCOUNT MILNER

A Trustee appointed by a codicil of the Will
Died 1925



SIR GEORGE R. PARKIN
Organising Secretary, 1902-1920



SIR FRANCIS WYLIE
Oxford Secretary, 1903-1931
From the drawing by
Miss F. A. de B. Footner, 1935



SIR CARLETON ALLEN

could not foresee the problems of the second world war and its aftermath.

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In 1925 the first world war had come and gone. Its impact upon Oxford and the Rhodes Scholarships is recounted by Wylie below. It had led the Trustees to promote the Rhodes Estate Act of 1916, the object of which was to abolish the German Scholarships and create others in their place. As will appear from Wylie's account, there had for a while been many problems of administration and discipline to be hastily solved; but the war had not lastingly diverted the policy, or impaired the resources, of the Trust. And in 1925 only a handful of prophets or pessimists foresaw a second world war. The road was open for fourteen years of steady development. Lord Milner, last of the original Trustees, died that summer, and Rudyard Kipling, who had been appointed in 1917, resigned in protest against the appointment of Kerr, a Liberal and an associate of Lloyd George, as Secretary. By the end of the year the Board consisted of Sir Otto Beit, Lord Lovat, Mr. L. S. Amery, Mr. Stanley Baldwin (as he then was), Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, Sir Douglas Hogg (afterwards Lord Hailsham), Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and Sir Edward Peacock. By now the process of selection overseas had more or less assumed its present character. In each of the larger constituencies, the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa and Australia, a former Rhodes Scholar as Secretary was organizing the elections, doing his best to stimulate competition and keeping intimate contact with the General Secretary in England.

Of these Dr. Frank Aydelotte (Indiana and Brasenose, 1905) was the first appointed, had the longest tenure (he served from 1918 to 1952) and on the whole the most formidable problems to face. By 1925 College Presidents were no longer doing our selection for us, and Committees of the kind we know to-day—consisting of former Rhodes Scholars presided over by a distinguished outsider—had already come into existence. But Aydelotte was still working feverishly on the revolutionary

plan by which the system of annual elections by districts of grouped States was to be substituted in 1930 for the old arrangements under which each State elected, or was at any rate entitled to elect, in two years out of three. Of this long-meditated 'district plan', as well as of the *Association of American Rhodes Scholars* and its lively house journal the *American Oxonian*, which between them have done so much both for the Rhodes Scholarships and for Anglo-American relations, and of the far-reaching consequences and occasional contretemps of the Scholarships in the United States, Aydelotte himself gives his own too brief account later in this volume. I will only add here that, though in 1921 he became President of Swarthmore and in 1939 Director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, Aydelotte's tireless devotion to the Rhodes idea (and not merely to the American Scholarships) never flagged. Indeed, I recognize now in retrospect how much, during these years, the American Secretary was doing for the Scholarships all over the world. For through his varied activities as host, unofficial employment agency and father confessor to former Rhodes Scholars, and his illuminating book, *The American Rhodes Scholarships*, as well as countless lectures, journeys and interviews undertaken in the interests of the Scholarships, he was setting the pattern for all our larger constituencies—in which former Rhodes Scholars installed as Secretaries, and not confining themselves to organizing elections, or stimulating competition, would in due course set out to build up an active Rhodes fraternity. In 1921 J. M. Macdonnell (Ontario and Balliol, 1905), later K.C. and M.P., had become Secretary in Canada and P. T. Lewis (South African College School and Balliol, 1904), later K.C. and Lieutenant-Colonel, in South Africa; while in the following year the indefatigable (Sir) John Behan (Victoria and Hertford, 1904) became Australian Secretary; he had obtained two Firsts at Oxford, as well as the Vinerian and Eldon Scholarships, and had been a Fellow of University College.



There had been considerable additions to the Scholarships too by now. Thus for some inscrutable reason the Founder had left only two Scholarships to Canada, one for English-speaking Ontario and one for French-speaking Quebec; not, as some commentators naïvely suggested, because the existence of the six remaining Provinces had escaped his notice (the same commentators perhaps who for long stoutly maintained that, when he bequeathed a Scholarship to each of the United States he supposed their number to be still restricted to the original thirteen). And at once, in 1903, the Trustees had created six Scholarships for the neglected Provinces. In 1911 the Scholarship of the North-West Territories was divided between Alberta and Saskatchewan, which elected, until 1918, in alternate years. And in 1919 Mr. Amery, who had then just become a Trustee, and was Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposed to his fellow-Trustees that there should be a Scholarship for Malta: the Scholarship was established in 1920 (at first for election every third year). The Amery Street which I recognized with pleasure when I visited Valletta in 1950 commemorated, I believe, Mr. Amery's responsibility for the Maltese constitution of 1921, but, if the Maltese had known of his paternal relationship to their Rhodes Scholarship, they would, I am sure, have been no less anxious to commemorate him with a street.

Then the German Scholarships. They had been created, five a year, in a codicil because—'I note that the German Emperor has made instruction in English compulsory in German schools' and because 'an understanding between the three great powers will render war impossible'. In 1916 Germany's first great onslaught on Europe had been raging for two years, and the Trustees promoted a Private Bill which 'revoked and annulled' the five German Scholarships, and required that four more should be created in their place, for countries 'within the British Empire'. Advice poured in, as it always does, as to the choice of the new beneficiaries: there must be few countries, within or without the British Commonwealth, for whom somebody has not at some time urged the Trustees to create a Scholarship. In fact, one went

to be shared between Alberta and Saskatchewan, both of which could therefore henceforth elect annually, one each to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and one jointly to Kimberley and Port Elizabeth, electing in alternate years.

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Once the Selection Committees are constituted, the process of selection has of course its own perennial problems. Save in the early days (when the special qualifying Examination referred to by Wylie¹ was needed to exempt Rhodes Scholars from Responsions) there has been no written examination, and the candidate has been judged on his University, or school, record, his testimonials and, above all, on a personal interview. The success of Committees has depended largely on the tact and insight of its members at these interviews, for the conduct of which they have of course steadily accumulated experience. But the problems of policy are even more fundamental than those of procedure, and they are faithfully reflected in the Memoranda which the General Secretary has for many years been circulating at regular intervals to the members of every Selection Committee. It was not until I had been wrestling with them for some little while myself, and had laboriously phrased a good many of my own solutions, that I discovered with considerable relief, from an examination of our earliest files, how closely on the whole most of these solutions resembled those of my remoter predecessors.

Thus the Founder had directed that his Scholars should 'not be merely bookworms', and that in addition to their 'literary and scholastic attainments', their 'fondness of, and success in, manly outdoor sports', their 'qualities of manhood, truth, courage, devotion to duty, sympathy for, and protection of, the weak, kindliness, unselfishness and fellowship', as well as 'moral force of character and of instincts to lead' should all be taken into account. The revolutionary character of these provisions was evident from the outset, for though up to a point Oxford Colleges might take account of qualities of character when admitting Commoners,

¹ pp. 63, 4.

'literary and scholastic attainments' alone determined the election of their scholars. Yet it is beyond question that all enduring achievement depends upon character as well as intellect, and many of the greatest figures in British history, including the Founder and Sir Winston Churchill, would have been hopelessly unqualified to win a traditional scholarship on leaving school. If, then, our Selection Committees were to select future Rhodeses and Churchills, there would evidently have to be a good deal of hard thinking as to the respective claims of intellect and character. What we have told our Committees has been, briefly and in effect, that a Rhodes Scholar should possess either distinguished character founded upon sound intellect, or distinguished intellect founded upon sound character. In the early days some Committees were over-partial to the unintelligent he-man, and since then the balance has perhaps tilted over far, temporarily and here and there, towards the mere laureate of the examination hall. But in general Committees have displayed a remarkably shrewd judgment, as is evidenced both by the subsequent careers of Rhodes Scholars, which are discussed later in this volume, and by the simple fact that (although they necessarily have to face certain handicaps peculiar to themselves, and although an increasing proportion of them read only for post-graduate degrees) their record in the final Schools compares favourably with that of home-produced open exhibitioners, and is not much inferior to that of open scholars. In 1954, indeed, eleven out of forty-eight Rhodes candidates taking Schools obtained Firsts.

Again, the reference in the Will to 'manly outdoor sports', together with the signal prowess of athletes from overseas (by no means all of them Rhodes Scholars) in inter-Varsity contests, have contrived to breed a persistent illusion, both here and overseas, that Rhodes Scholars are primarily, or even necessarily, men of brawn. The truth of course is that Selection Committees have from the first been warned to attach little importance to mere skill in hitting or kicking a moving ball. What they have been encouraged to search for has been rather 'the qualities of character usually developed by sports' and by love of an open-air

life; and the century at Lords, or winning try at Twickenham, though a welcome aftermath of some elections, has seldom, save in the earliest years, constituted their objective. (The Battle of Waterloo may have been 'won on the playing-fields of Eton' but in the age of Waterloo the playing-fields of Eton—and of Rugby, a little later, in Tom Brown's day—were not the scene of organized ball games.) Yet the proportion of prominent Rhodes Scholar athletes who have also been industrious and distinguished students is remarkable; there is the experience of fifty years behind the observation, in the latest Memorandum to Selection Committees, that 'the wisdom of Mr. Rhodes has been justified . . . by the proportion of his Scholars who both work well and play well'. Wylie remarks, on a later page, that if the athletic clause of the Will had been rigidly interpreted, Jan Hofmeyr, the South African statesman, would probably never have been elected. I think that he is mistaken there, for, whatever may be said of Hofmeyr's 'success in manly outdoor sports', there can be no doubt as to his fondness for them. To the end of his life he was a persistent, if unskilful, cricketer; and when he came to dine with me, thirty years after we had last met as contemporaries at Balliol, his first words were, 'We used to play in the same hockey team'—an episode which, though the hockey team contained the late Dr. Joad and other British celebrities, I had for the time being completely forgotten.

Or again, an observer who considers that too few Rhodes Scholars become Cabinet Ministers occasionally quotes the desire expressed by the Founder that a Scholar should 'esteem the performance of public duties as his highest aim'. But Mr. Rhodes can hardly have wished that in 1953 his Trustees should be promoting an influx into Oxford of sixty-eight future Cabinet Ministers every year. It would no doubt be inappropriate for a Rhodes Scholar of all people, if otherwise obviously qualified, to hold aloof from politics on the mere ground, so often alleged, that 'politics are a dirty game', and particularly inappropriate perhaps for a Rhodes Scholar in South Africa, where the Founder himself thought it his duty to pursue a political career. And there

can be no doubt that a number of Rhodes Scholars have in fact entered politics from a sense of duty not only to society but to the Rhodes Scholarships. Nevertheless, it has to be recognized that in the world of to-day 'public duties' can be performed, to the equal or greater advantage of society, in many spheres outside the walls of Parliament itself, and the Trustees have always advised their Selection Committees to interpret the Founder's words as covering any and every activity whose aim is the service of others as distinct from mere individual self-advancement.

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Wylie tells, in the following section, how the influx of Rhodes Scholars into Oxford gradually created, or at least greatly enlarged, the demand for advanced work and post-graduate degrees, but this unexpected consequence of the Foundation and the delicate problems which it would involve, did not fully develop until after the second world war. There was, however, another change in the University regulations which was already producing its effects when Lothian took office in 1925. Wylie recounts below¹ how soon after the first world war it came about that any degree at an 'approved' University overseas was accepted by Oxford as qualifying for 'senior standing'. The consequences for the Rhodes Scholarships were far-reaching. Henceforth all but a handful of Rhodes Scholars would be able to qualify for a degree in two years. The third year, which had hitherto been a necessity for almost all of them, might henceforth for some of them become something like a luxury. And although, as often as not, it was in his third year that a Scholar gained most from the social life of College and University, even this would not justify his filling up time with work which bore no relation to his future career. Moreover, there were now financial considerations to be reckoned with. War, as always, had bred inflation. The stipend of £300 prescribed by the Will, which had spelt modest affluence before the war, had begun to entail pinching

¹ p. 112.

and parsimony by 1918. Now Rhodes Scholars ought not to be harassed by budgetary anxieties at Oxford, nor ought they to find vacation travel on the Continent beyond their means; for many a Rhodes Scholar returning from the Continent has not only brought with him a new knowledge of foreign nations, but has been forced unexpectedly to realize that English ways are not so unlike his own as he had supposed, and has been surprised by a sudden sense that he is returning home. For all these reasons an increase in the Scholar's stipend had become imperative. In 1920 a 'bonus' of £50 was added to it, and in 1925 it was permanently increased to £400. Here was a subsidiary motive for circumspection in the grant of third years. A Memorandum of 1934 warned Committees that it would 'no longer be, as hitherto, practically automatic'. But this was not to be by any means the end of the problem of the third year, or for that matter, alas! of the stipend.

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Between 1919 and 1925, when Lothian became General Secretary, there had been several considerable benefactions by the Trustees overseas. They had given £5,000 to Victoria College, Alexandria, a similar sum to the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad and £2,000 to the Kitchener Memorial Medical School in Khartoum; but during Lothian's fourteen years of office the list of their grants lengthens and assumes a somewhat novel character. There were one or two interesting experiments—a grant for research on the Zimbabwe ruins, for example, and for the interchange of students between British and German Universities—and the benefactions to London University (where since 1919 the Trustees had been contributing more than £500 a year to the Chair of Imperial History) included a gift of £5,000 to the new Hall of Residence for overseas students, now well known as London House. But the principal beneficiaries were Oxford and South Africa. In South Africa the Trustees maintained their generosity to Rhodes University College, and made numerous grants and loans to schools. Nor did they neglect the

Bantu or the problem of race relations; thus there were grants of £4,000 to the Modderpoort Native School, and of £1,000 to the Native College at Fort Hare, as well as contributions to the Institute of Race Relations, the Chair of Bantu Studies at Witwatersrand University and the Bantu Mines Social Centre and Native Mission Schools at Johannesburg. In Oxford there were repeated grants, from 1925 onwards, to the 'Fund for the Preservation of Oxford', better known to-day as the Oxford Preservation Trust, as well as for a 'Tutor in Elementary Dutch', the 'Oxford University Boy Emigration Movement', the Union Society, the Radcliffe Infirmary, the School of Engineering, the Appointments Committee, the restoration of St. Mary's Church, an Indian Lecturership, the Adviser to Overseas Students and the Readership in International Law. And the series culminates in a munificent contribution of £100,000 to the Appeal launched by the University in 1937.

In Oxford, too, there were experiments. One was the series of seven Rhodes Memorial Lectures which between 1926 and 1936 brought seven famous men—including Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Prime Minister, Dr. Abraham Flexner of the Rockefeller Foundation, Elie Halévy, the French historian, General Smuts, Professor Einstein and Professor Hubble, the (Rhodes Scholar) astronomer—to lecture and, no less important, to reside for some weeks in Oxford. The lectures attracted much interest. Dr. Flexner's led indirectly to the establishment of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, of which Frank Aydelotte in due course became Director. At General Smuts's first appearance, although it was in the Sheldonian and there had been an elaborate allotment of tickets, there was something like a free fight among would-be occupants of the unreserved gallery, and at his subsequent lectures a small array of policemen had to be called in to guard the approaches to the Theatre. Professor Einstein lectured in German on Relativity. The venue was the Milner Hall at Rhodes House, for even in Oxford the number of those who understand both Relativity and German is not large, although Wylie afterwards recalled how two young ladies besought him

to admit them on the ingenious plea that one of them knew a little German and the other a little mathematics. Professor Einstein's own verdict on the audience at his third and last lecture was 'ils ont dormi'; to which he added after a pause 'ils en avaient bien le droit'. The series had certainly been distinguished; it had doubtless been good for Oxford, though some of the lectures had little relevance to the Founder and his ideas, and though in Oxford of all places he needed no new memorial to keep his memory green. The other Oxford venture of this period was the ambitious experiment of Rhodes Travelling Fellowships, intended to enable Oxford dons to travel in the Commonwealth or the United States, with the twofold object of refreshing tutors apprehensive of becoming stale, and of dotting about the Colleges Fellows who had learned to know the home countries of Rhodes Scholars, and would be likely to take a special interest in them. The Trustees had been prepared to devote up to £3,000 a year to this experiment from 1926, but in the upshot only one year saw this much expended; opinions as to the success of the Fellowships were by no means unanimous and after 1933 they were gradually discontinued.

But the Rhodes Trust's most important gift to Oxford was undoubtedly Rhodes House itself, of the genesis of which Wylie gives an interesting account below.¹ Completed, at a cost of £150,000, in 1929, it was intended to serve three main purposes: to do visible honour to Mr. Rhodes in the University which he so greatly loved; to contribute to the amenities of the University and City; and to provide the Oxford Secretary with a house in which he might conveniently entertain, and the Trustees with a hall in which to hold the annual Scholars' dinner desired by the Founder. Whatever architectural purists may think of Sir Herbert Baker's imposing Cotswold pile, there can be no doubt that it has abundantly fulfilled the purposes of those who built it. For the University it has provided Rhodes House Library, housing the Commonwealth and American history sections of the Bodleian, regularly amplified by grants from the Trustees, and

¹ p. 115 f.

maintained by them at a cost which even by 1939 had already risen to more than £3,000 a year. And to University and City alike it offers the hospitality of the Milner Hall and its other public rooms, used, without charge, day in and day out throughout the year for lectures, seminars and classes, and the meetings, conferences and receptions of an impressive variety of University, City and national societies, the nature and objects of some of which would no doubt have mildly astonished Mr. Rhodes. In the brave days before Hitler's war, when there was actually a retinue of eight domestics in the Warden's Lodgings, hospitality could be dispensed in the grand manner. And when the dark days came and the staff had dwindled to one, the Warden's Lodgings would continue to provide entertainment which, if less luxurious, was certainly more diverse than ever before.

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The opening of the last decade before the second world war was particularly memorable, for 1929 saw not only the completion of Rhodes House but the passing of the second Rhodes Trust Act and the Silver Jubilee Reunion in Oxford. The chief object of the Private Bill, the promotion of which the Trustees had been meditating for some while, was to authorize a far-reaching change in the distribution of the Scholarships in the United States, as outlined in the Will. A full account of the new 'district plan' for the American Scholarships, its origins and consequences, is given below¹ by Frank Aydelotte, who, if not its 'onlie begetter' was certainly the chief architect and prophet of the scheme. The Act did not, however, confine itself to authorizing this particular change. It empowered the Trustees to

make such changes in the number distribution tenure duration and administration of the Scholarships . . . as will in their judgment best fulfil the purposes and intention of the Testator . . .

provided always that the number of the Scholarships created by the Will should not be reduced, nor their allocation in South

¹ p. 197 f.

Africa, Australia and Canada altered. Since the Act also gave the Trustees the widest discretion in the use of surplus capital and income it must certainly be regarded as a landmark in the history of the Trust. In one respect only did the Act differ substantially from the Bill originally contemplated. It had seemed to the Trustees that the population and the educational facilities of the islands of Bermuda and Jamaica, on each of which the Will had conferred a Scholarship, were too restricted for them to be expected to produce each year a Scholar of the required standard; and accordingly they had considered seeking power to throw open these two Scholarships for competition throughout the islands of the 'West Atlantic Zone', excluding Newfoundland. Not unnaturally, however, the citizens of Bermuda, on getting wind of what was under consideration, raised strenuous objections, and even dispatched a delegation to England to plead the indefeasible right of a beneficiary to the Scholarship allotted to it by the Will. The Trustees abandoned their proposals with good grace; and since then it has been accepted as axiomatic that, as the Act itself lays down, they cannot discontinue a Scholarship created by the Will, so long as they have funds to provide it. The Act, which received the Royal Assent in May, also conferred powers which made it possible in the following August to issue a regulation permitting Scholars henceforth, by way of exception, to apply to be allowed to postpone their third year at Oxford, or, in even more exceptional circumstances, to spend it at some other University in Great Britain or elsewhere, although not in the country of their own origin.

This latter concession derived indirectly from the Reunion of 1929. Of the Reunion festivities themselves Wylie has recounted his memories:¹ suffice it here to say that, with its organized expeditions, its reception in Westminster Hall, its garden party at Cliveden (featuring Bernard Shaw) and with the Prince of Wales as principal dinner-guest, it struck a very different note from that of our more domestic celebrations of 1953. Nevertheless, despite all these seductive distractions, Lothian and Wylie, in conclave

¹ p. 122 f.

with the principal Secretaries from overseas, found time to debate all the principal problems of the Scholarship system. It was a miniature Imperial and International Conference, and the ground had been prepared for it by the distribution of a questionnaire to former Scholars, members of Selection Committees and University officials. The replies had already made it clear that 'there is an overwhelming majority opinion, both in the Dominions and the United States, that the existing system is fundamentally sound'. The emerging pattern of the Selection Committees, the methods which they had been encouraged to adopt, and the once hotly debated decision that, save in one or two exceptional constituencies, a candidate must have spent at least two years at a University in his own country, all had been overwhelmingly approved in principle by those best qualified to judge.

The Conference debated not only these but numerous other problems, and among them the relative advantages of Honour Schools and post-graduate research. 'The great majority of replies' to the questionnaire had held 'that Rhodes Scholars ought to continue to take the undergraduate course at Oxford', roundly asserting both that 'it is the best and most characteristic teaching which Oxford offers' and that 'the importance of higher degrees and research work as a method of education is largely over-estimated'. The conclave at Rhodes House no doubt accepted these categorical pronouncements, which, indeed, it would have been difficult to dispute. Nevertheless, though true as far as they went, they were not the whole of the truth, and in his subsequent Memorandum to Selection Committees Lothian made it clear that it must be expected that a growing proportion of the ablest men would not compete for Rhodes Scholarships unless adequate facilities for post-graduate study were developed at Oxford. Seven years later, in 1936, when recommending the Trustees to make their generous contribution of £100,000 to the projected University Appeal, he summarized the other aspect of the problem:

No University can keep in the first rank unless a considerable proportion of its leading figures are actively engaged in extending the

limits of human knowledge rather than in imparting to successive generations of students the body of learning which they themselves have inherited from their predecessors.

Oxford, he warned the Trustees, was in danger of losing its reputation: at its recent Tercentenary Harvard had disconcertingly awarded nine honorary degrees to Cambridge men and only one to an Oxonian. In making their gift of £100,000 the Trustees expressed the wish that it should be used to support research into Social Studies with special reference to 'the problems of modern government in the British Commonwealth and the American Republic'. Had not the Founder chosen Oxford because he regarded the study of Greek culture and Roman Law as invaluable for young men who were likely to be called upon to practise the art of government?

The truth is that even in 1930, the year of the Conference, Oxford was not altogether the Oxford which the Founder knew. For in the nineteenth century Oxford and Cambridge, as distinct from the 'red-brick' Universities, were still the training-grounds of a ruling class, and they still concentrated upon teaching their alumni to understand and to be, rather than to investigate and to know. Of *Literae Humaniores* it was said that, because he had been trained to *understand*, a man who had taken a First in Greats was qualified to do anything more efficiently than the less fortunate—from sweeping a crossing to serving as Prime Minister. And in varying degrees the same claim was judged to hold good for every Oxford discipline. And therewith the whole atmosphere of the University, and in particular of the Colleges, drawing preponderantly upon the privileged public schools with their traditional emphasis upon character-training, predisposed Oxford men to *be*—to be men of a type, perhaps too easily recognizable but which Mr. Rhodes evidently thought to be pre-eminently qualified for public service. In the Founder's day the clamant demand for knowledge as such, the paramount emphasis upon research as the primary duty of a University, was virtually unknown. Mr. Rhodes pictured his Scholars drinking deep of the humanities and rubbing shoulders with their coevals in the

College common-rooms and quadrangles rather than as enlarging the sum of human knowledge over a laboratory retort. Indeed, he explicitly excluded Edinburgh from his benefaction, despite the 'excellent medical school' to which he referred in his Will, on the ground that it possessed no 'residential' system'. But by 1936 Oxford had become very conscious of the growing demand for knowledge, and was uneasily aware that here was a field in which its own character and constitution afforded no special advantages, perhaps even imposed some handicaps, a field in which it would have to compete at least upon level terms with the red-brick Universities. To-day, in the atom age, the fervour for research has increased and is still, all over the world, increasing. And this, with the economic changes thanks to which Oxford draws upon much wider social strata than in the past, has made the University yet more unlike the University of the Will. Yet Oxford has assimilated many revolutions, religious, political, social and economic, in her long day and has nevertheless contrived to remain uniquely herself. And I do not doubt that—as, I hope, the rest of this story will make clear—if Mr. Rhodes could have visited his University, whether in 1936 or, indeed, in 1955, he would have recognized that, despite all the changes of emphasis and activity, the University which he loved remained essentially unaltered and still the best of all training-grounds for his Scholars.

This problem of research was closely akin to an issue which, though not raised at the Reunion Conference, had been discussed at length in a Memorandum to Selection Committees two years earlier. An increasing tendency was becoming apparent among Rhodes Scholars from the Commonwealth, it was pointed out, 'to study the sciences rather than the arts', and it was doubtful, wrote Lothian in 1927, whether 'this is an advantage from the point of view of Mr. Rhodes's larger ideals';

the Founder after all had selected the University of Oxford largely because he believed that the type of education given there, with its outlook on the civilization of Greece and Rome, its interest in philosophy, history, law and political science, would develop in his Scholars

those aptitudes which would specially assist them in the discharge of public duties in after life. The Trustees do not wish to underrate in the slightest degree the value of a scientific education at Oxford or elsewhere. But they feel that the Rhodes Scholars who take those Schools for which the University of Oxford has been most justly famed in the past are likely to gain most from their Scholarship and that this consideration might usefully be borne in mind by Selection Committees.

They were wise words, and although at the time they may have seemed faintly reminiscent of King Canute's advisers, the tide has in fact turned since then, as the following figures will show:

AMERICAN RHODES SCHOLARS

	Proportion studying Humanities	Proportion studying Sciences
Before first world war . .	87.8	12.2
After first world war to 1925 inclusive . . .	85.3	14.7
1954	84	16

COMMONWEALTH RHODES SCHOLARS

	Proportion studying Humanities	Proportion studying Sciences
Before first world war . .	45.8	54.2
After first world war to 1925 inclusive . . .	31.9	68.1
1954	65	35

No doubt the remarkable change evidenced in these figures has been partly due to the development since 1925 of scientific studies in the Universities of the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER III

WORLD WAR AGAIN

IN 1939, when I succeeded Lothian as General Secretary, there seemed to be the best of grounds for his belief that all the major problems of the Rhodes Trust had been solved. Its capital resources, to which there had recently been two considerable accretions, were more than adequate. Its selection procedure was working smoothly and with general acceptance, and with the revival of German Scholarships in 1929, two a year this time, and the award in 1933 of a Scholarship, every third year, to East Africa, and the transformation of the Kimberley-Port Elizabeth Scholarship in South Africa into an election, in alternate years, in the Eastern Province, the Scholarship-pattern might be considered to have become definitive. 1931, it is true, had seen the much lamented departure of the Wylies from Rhodes House—to maintain, however, for many years to come the closest touch with Rhodes Scholars all over the world, thanks to their constant pilgrimages to Boars Hill and the annual birthday postcard which Wylie never failed to dispatch to each of them. But it had soon become apparent that in their successors the Trustees had for a second time been vouchsafed the near-miracle of Warden and wife each superlatively qualified for what is, more than any other post in Oxford, a twofold responsibility. In the world of the Rhodes Trust it certainly seemed that we could count on fair weather—if only the greater world without escaped a hurricane.

* * *

We were not long left in suspense as to the hurricane. The General Office was then in Waterloo Place, at the bottom of Lower Regent Street, and Lothian used to claim that his desk there, from which he could see both Big Ben and the National Gallery, was the centre of the Empire. It was not until towards

the end of July that I found myself seated at it. One of its drawers contained plans for evacuation in the event of war. By the first week in September we had acted on them, and from then until January 1947 we were accommodated, with a reduced staff, in exiguous but convenient quarters at Rhodes House. The General Office has not returned to London. The eighteenth-century house in Beaumont Street which houses it now, midway between Balliol and Worcester, provides more space at much less cost; and the Trust after all is more concerned with Oxford than with London.

During the first two years of war the Trustees met nearly twice as frequently as usual, with agenda more often than not twice the customary length. There was an infinity of problems, large and small, to be resolved. As to the impact of the war on the Scholarships themselves Allen has more to say below.¹ Suffice it here to say that elections in the U.S.A. ceased at once, while the Commonwealth constituencies continued in 1939 and 1940 to elect men who, had peace opportunely been restored, might have come into residence in 1940 and 1941, but, like the Scholars from the U.S.A. who should have come up in 1939, were permitted to hold their Scholarships in suspense until such time as Providence should choose to make resumption possible. During the central years of the war the only two constituencies continuing to elect were Bermuda and Malta, whose triennial Scholarship was rendered annual in 1942, in recognition of its wartime ordeal and gallantry. When peace returned, a substantial proportion of the holders of suspended Scholarships flocked to Oxford from barracks and battlefields in every continent. This time ex-servicemen were permitted to marry without forfeiting their Scholarships. Later in this volume Allen raises a corner of the curtain on the memorable saga of their wives and children in Oxford. As some compensation for the years that the locusts had eaten there were double elections for 1946 in the Commonwealth, and an increase of fifty per cent for two successive years, 1947 and 1948, in the United States. In the peak year, 1948,

¹ p. 165 f.

there were no less than 220 Rhodes Scholars in residence. It all sounds simple enough in retrospect; it did not always seem so simple at the time.

The German Rhodes Scholarships, revived in 1929, had inconspicuously and inevitably expired ten years later. During their second incarnation, as in their first, they had proved, as Allen recounts below, most successful. After Hitler's accession to power there had been some natural anxiety as to the possibility of political interference with the Committee in Berlin, which had replaced the Kaiser, appointed sole selector of Rhodes Scholars under the Will. But, thanks to the courageous independence of the Rhodes Scholars who constituted the Committee and the influence of its venerable Chairman, Dr. Schmidt-Ott (who in the earlier days had advised the Kaiser as to his selections), the Committee remained almost the only non-Nazified organization in Germany and continued to elect on merit alone. No Act of Parliament was needed this time to bring the German Scholarships to an end, as it had been to revoke the German codicil of the Will in 1916, for the present Scholarships had been created under the powers conferred by the Act of 1929. And as early as the January of 1940 the Trustees were considering transferring the two lapsed Scholarships to India. It was obvious that the award of two Scholarships to a sub-continent the population of which was about 390,000,000 (while, let us say, Canada with a population, then, of 11,506,000 had ten) would be grotesquely disproportionate. But the capacity of Oxford to absorb Rhodes Scholars, like the finances of the Rhodes Trust, was not unlimited, and our advisers were agreed that the symbolic gesture of bringing India within the Rhodes family would be widely appreciated there. In March 1940 it was announced that the two Indian Scholarships would be established at the conclusion of the war. There was thus plenty of time for the complicated task of adapting our traditional election procedure to the great distances, and communal problems, of this vast new constituency. I think we may say that with the assistance of a number of expert advisers, and particularly of Sir Maurice Gwyer, who was then Chief Justice

of India and accepted the Chairmanship of our first Selection Committee, we grappled successfully with our problems, resisting the temptation, always powerful in a new constituency, to overweight our Committee with *ex officio* members. In 1949, after the dichotomy of India, the two Scholarships had to be reallocated, one for India and one for Pakistan, and the problems which had already faced us in Delhi were reproduced in Lahore. The new constituencies have already sent some distinguished representatives to Oxford, including an Indian President of the Union.

* * *

The first world war had in no way modified the pattern of the Trustees' philanthropy; their grants neither increased nor altered in character. But during the second war, with the Scholarships first halved and then virtually suspended altogether, the Trust was saving considerable sums and its grants were both noticeably increased and directed to objects appropriate to the crisis. One of the main channels into which they flowed suggested itself readily enough. Troops from the Dominions, and later from the United States, poured into Great Britain, and both here and behind the battle-fronts a variety of voluntary organizations ministered busily to their welfare. To the chief of these, the Church Army, the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. (as well as to certain subsidiary agencies), the Trustees gave generously during the war years. Another objective of the Trustees' wartime generosity was the promotion of popular education in Empire history and Empire affairs. For during the years of cynicism before the war the Empire had fallen into disrepute; any strictures upon its record were regarded as impartial criticism, while anything said in its favour was dismissed as old-fashioned propaganda. And so such few organizations as had interested themselves at all in imperial education had tended to take the lines of least resistance, providing the narrowly factual (and usually commercial) information to which nobody was likely to take exception, but which would certainly open up no new horizons. After the outbreak of war, and particularly in 1940, when the

British Empire manifestly stood alone in defence of civilization, certain organizations had begun to experiment cautiously with education in imperial history and affairs, but they were working under severe restrictions, often in ignorance of each other's plans and with much overlapping of effort. And so for a while at first, besides making more ambitious plans possible, the Rhodes Trust found itself serving involuntarily as a sort of unofficial clearing-house, and providing unofficial organizations, and even government departments, with information as to what other unofficial organizations and other government departments were doing or planning. And in the upshot the admirable series of lectures for schools organized, during and after the war, by the Imperial Institute, and the lectures and libraries provided for the troops by the Y.M.C.A., as well as some useful projects undertaken by the Y.W.C.A. and the National Association of Girls' Clubs, all owed a good deal to the generosity, and something to the collaboration, of the Rhodes Trust.

And meanwhile the stream of the Trustees' more general benefactions continued to flow. Among them was the first important grant to India, a generous gift to Delhi University. It is interesting, too, to recall that in 1941 the Trustees purchased two seventeenth-century Flemish tapestry panels, representing Europe and America, companions, in a set of four, to two which the Founder himself had left in Groote Schuur, the Cape Town residence of the Prime Minister of South Africa. In due course the tapestries were presented to Field-Marshal Smuts, who was then Prime Minister of the Union, in recognition of the services rendered by himself and the people of South Africa during the war, and were eventually hung in 'Libertas', the Premier's official residence in Pretoria.

* * *

It was the early war years, too, which saw the origins of an eminently unwarlike project, the Trustees' collection of portraits which has already added greatly to the beauty and interest of Rhodes House, and will one day, I hope, become one of the sights of Oxford. The original intention was to build up gradu-

ally a collection of portraits of persons of national importance, closely associated with the work of the Trust. For an imperial portrait gallery would be eminently appropriate to Rhodes House as a centre of imperial studies; moreover, the Trustees far-sightedly agreed at the outset that their collection should aim at artistic distinction as well as historical interest. And here it must be said, with all due respect, that Oxford itself has set them, over the centuries, some cautionary examples of what to avoid. For although one or two Colleges, and notably Christ Church, possibly because they have always possessed a considerable number of wealthy alumni, have gradually, if not altogether intentionally, accumulated a gallery of real artistic importance, containing examples of most of the English masters, too many, when it became desirable to commemorate a Head of their House, would seem to have been chiefly concerned to obtain a tolerable portrait cheaply; with the inevitable result that too often when the Notable was no more his portrait would speedily be hustled away into some dark corridor or remoter lecture-room. A famous foreign connoisseur, it is said, was once conducted round a certain College hall, and examined the lines of portraits with interest but without audible comment, until at length, pressed for a verdict, he replied tersely, 'Zese pictures are large, but zey are *not* goot'. It was resolved at the outset that portraits for the Rhodes House collection should, if possible, be commissioned from the artists likeliest to be regarded by posterity as the Reynolds, Gainsboroughs and Lawrences of their day. I say 'if possible', for, as anyone who has had the gruelling experience of consulting art experts on the relative merits of artists, or for that matter on any other aspect of art, will be only too well aware, no two art experts ever agree.

Some years later the basis of the collection was somewhat widened, and for a curious reason. When Rhodes House was built, the name of Kingsley Fairbridge, the eponymous founder of the Fairbridge Farm Schools, was inscribed, not very conspicuously, on a panel beneath the war memorial in the Rotunda, and there it had remained for more than twenty years, without

an explanatory legend and in solitary state. No precise principle upon which future names were to be added to it had been established, though it was generally assumed that the commemoration of a Rhodes Scholar beneath the dome inscribed with the Founder's favourite quotation from Aristotle must at least imply that he had conspicuously lived up to Mr. Rhodes's ideals of character. A few years later the home-town newspaper of a deceased Rhodes Scholar, who had held minor office in a provincial administration, took it upon itself to announce that his name would doubtless soon be inscribed in the Rotunda upon 'the Rhodes Honour Boards'. This unexpected suggestion abruptly posed a wider issue, which the Trustees of the day did not feel prepared to decide, and they contented themselves with dexterously postponing it by prescribing that no Scholar's name should be considered for inscription for at least five years after his death. But well before the close period for the provincial Minister was due to expire, some little while before the war, his backers renewed their offensive with an urgent inquiry as to the present prospect of his name's appearing upon the 'Honour Board'. Whereupon the Trustees promptly and prudently decided to extend the close period to *ten* years. For the problems of admission to a potential Valhalla at Rhodes House would clearly be insoluble. To select the names of those who were morally outstanding, or even had 'made an original contribution to the life of their time', would be invidious and impracticable. And eventually, after the war was over, it was decided to substitute for the inscription in the Rotunda a posthumous portrait of Kingsley Fairbridge, by A. K. Lawrence, R.A., which at present hangs alone in the Jameson room. And thenceforth from time to time portraits of former Rhodes Scholars have been, and will be, added to the Rhodes House collection, the Trustees' intention being that their subjects should, broadly speaking, have pre-selected themselves by the achievement of some signal honour or conspicuous office.

Since mid-1954 the verdict of all who remembered the austerity of the Milner Hall with empty walls has been that the portraits

with which it is now lined have brought it not only colour but therewith warmth and life. And such was undoubtedly the expectation of the architect, who had intended the Hall for pictures. But this aesthetic advance was effected despite the experts. For it was on aesthetic as well as moral grounds that there had at first been doubts as to whether it would not be more proper to leave James Gunn's large posthumous portrait of the Founder solitarily dominating the Hall. In the upshot three justly celebrated art critics were consulted, and all of them (although, as might perhaps have been expected, for contradictory reasons) pronounced that the Milner Hall was not suited for pictures. Nobody to-day, I believe, would wish for a return to the bare walls, or doubt that the Founder would have welcomed the opportunity of gazing down from the dais of his Hall at a select band of his Scholars and Trustees.

* * *

The finances of the Trust naturally benefited from the war with the years of suspended Scholarships, and its increased income was particularly welcome in the three years from 1947 to 1950 when there were so many Scholars in residence. Moreover, as soon as the war, though not, alas! the wartime inflation, was over it became evident that even the most parsimonious Rhodes Scholar—and not all Rhodes Scholars are parsimonious—could scarcely be expected to 'get by' on £400. The Founder himself was on record as having expressed the wish that his Scholars should not be required to 'scrape'; the conclusion was inescapable, and in 1946 £100 was added to the normal stipend. At first, in the never very confident hope that the tide of rising prices might yet recede, our Scholarship Memoranda continued to announce the stipend as £400, with a 'special allowance' of £100, and though in 1951 we were announcing £500 as the official figure, we still added the cautionary words 'at present'. As it proved, they were justified; not, as we had tried, not very successfully, to hope, because it proved possible to return to the £400 level, but because in 1954, with wages and prices still chasing each other up a slowly mounting spiral, a further ascent,

to £600, had become necessary. This last *ascensus Averno*, if the phrase is permissible, was preceded by the accumulation of much budgetary evidence, not only from the Warden of Rhodes House, but from most of the overseas Secretaries. It showed, as might have been expected, that the economic standards, and requirements, of our Scholars varied considerably, and that sometimes it was those who seemed to us most comfortably off who were most conscious of the need of an increase. But that there were numerous cases of hardship there was no doubt; and, what perhaps was worse, Rhodes Scholars were beginning to think of devoting their vacations to 'gainful employment'—a disastrous negation of the Oxford system, of which one of the most valuable traditions is the long period of vacation during which the student depends upon his own unbuttressed industry and his own intellectual strategy.

It was, however, by no means only the wartime suspension of Scholarships which had swollen the financial resources of the Trust. The skilled devotion of Sir Edward Peacock and his colleagues on the Trustees' financial committee—first Sir Sothern Holland and after 1949 Sir George Abell—after nursing the exchequer triumphantly through the years of storm had taken full advantage of calmer waters. Between 1939 and 1949 the Trust's assets increased by almost exactly a million pounds, without which the post-war increases in Scholars' stipends would have presented a much more formidable problem.

* * *

Before the end of the war it had become obvious that for the third time the Trust would have to submit a Private Bill to Parliament. Unlike the Acts of 1919 and 1926 it would not be concerned with the Scholarships themselves. For the time had come to grapple with a problem of a kind which, I suspect, the intricacies of the law being what they are, sooner or later confronts most great Trusts. Serious doubts had arisen whether quite a number of the activities which the Rhodes Trust had been carrying on with general approbation from the first were in fact

within the letter of the law. Strictly speaking—and how else, in such matters, is it safe to speak—was it entitled to hold land as an investment? Or to make charitable grants outside Britain? Or to other charitable organizations? To all these fundamental questions the legal experts could only reply with a doubtful shake of the head. True, their predecessors had approved these activities, and had even drawn up deeds empowering the Trustees of their day to conduct them, so that at first it was difficult to avoid the disquieting reflection that whatever Act was now framed, some fatal technical flaw in it might well be discovered by a later generation of lawyers. Nevertheless, there was clearly now no choice but to remove all doubts in our own day, and leave our successors to look after themselves.

But whatever doubts might be inspired by the occasional ambiguities of the law, there could be none as to the unfailing dexterity and consideration with which our legal advisers now threaded their way through preliminary consultations with the Attorney-General, the Charity Commissioners, the Ministry of Education and the Treasury Solicitor, and framed a Bill which in due course was enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, as the Rhodes Trust Act, 1946. Besides satisfactorily setting our major doubts at rest, this measure is memorable as having for the first time constituted the Trustees a 'body corporate with perpetual succession'. As I glance through its fourteen mostly quite intelligible clauses to-day I find it difficult to believe that it will give our successors much further trouble.

* * *

Sir Francis Wylie's eightieth birthday, timed with characteristic dexterity, fell exactly two months after the end of the war with Japan. He was still negotiating the exacting slopes of Boars Hill on a bicycle—and still, needless to say, dispatching his annual birthday postcard to every Rhodes Scholar of his reign. Rhodes Scholars all over the world planned a deluge of postcards, letters and telegrams for the occasion. After considering an oil portrait

(to supplement the drawing already at Rhodes House), the Trustees resolved to commemorate both the eightieth birthday and the outstanding services of the Wylies to the Rhodes Scholarships and Oxford by founding a Wylie Prize in the University, in the still somewhat neglected field of American or imperial studies. Wylie received the suggestion with characteristic modesty: 'the idea', he wrote, 'of having my name associated with anything permanent, and in Oxford, does violence to a modesty which is really not mock'. The University's formal decree passed Congregation within a week of Wylie's birthday.

The oil portrait, to anticipate somewhat, was eventually painted a few years later by Mr. Edward Halliday, and will be found in the Milner Hall. We need not have feared, in 1945, that the sittings might overtax Wylie's strength. In 1952 he spent two-and-a-half hours of continuous mental concentration in the Rhodes Trust office, discussing his contribution to this volume, and repeatedly recalling in vivid detail incidents and conversations of forty or fifty years ago. He had only just recovered from serious indisposition, and I had feared that he might overtax himself, but it seemed to me that at the end of our labours he was noticeably fresher than I. He died peacefully in his sleep, on October 29th that year, full of years and honour, and assuredly there were many to 'rise up and call him blessed'.

Before the end of the war the Board of Trustees had changed considerably. Lord Hailsham resigned in 1929 and Lord Lovat died in 1933. The Warden of New College was killed in a street accident in April 1940, a grievous loss to the Trust. In November of that year Dean Lowe of Christ Church (Ontario, 1922), the first Rhodes Scholar to become Head of a House, and the Treasurer of Christ Church, Captain G. T. Hutchinson, a friend of the Rhodes family, were elected Trustees, and in 1941 Lord Hailey, who after completing a memorable administrative career in India had embarked upon another as a leading authority upon Africa and its problems. Geoffrey Dawson died in 1944, still in the editorial chair of *The Times*.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ERA

BY 1947 the war was well over and as far as the Rhodes Trust was concerned even the problems of its immediate aftermath were beginning to pass into history. There were still plenty of husbands and fathers among the Rhodes Scholars in Oxford, for, unlike their predecessors of the Kaiser's war, they had been permitted to marry, and, as Allen relates, there were plenty of wives and children also. But the selection machinery was running smoothly once more, and this was the last year of the abnormally large post-war elections. I was free to pay, with my wife, my first, and most belated, visit as General Secretary to the United States and Canada. Of the medley of impressions, and lessons, of this exhilarating experience, one of the most significant was of the vitality and value of the Association of American Rhodes Scholars, of which we were very conscious during the three-day Reunion of more than four hundred former Scholars and their wives at Princeton in June. True, the meticulous preliminary staff-work was Frank Aydelotte's (and it was characteristic, we felt, of his readiness to pull any string on behalf of any Rhodes Scholar anywhere and at any time that he should not only have provided special windscreen 'stickers' for the cars of Reunion guests, but should have privately encouraged the local police to permit those displaying them to break the law with impunity). It is true, too, that Frank Aydelotte was the original begetter of the Association, which is responsible for the Eastman Professorship at Oxford, collected a hundred thousand dollars for the Oxford appeal and maintains the quarterly *American Oxonian*, that lively house journal which has been so consistently fortunate in its editors. But what the Association had meant to the American Rhodes Scholarships—and by inference what an Association

might mean in other constituencies—became abundantly apparent during the gathering at Princeton, and particularly during its 'business sessions'. During one of these a small but energetic minority criticized the 'District Plan' for letting in too many 'smooth young gentlemen from California and New England'—and, apparently as a corollary of this, that too many Rhodes Scholars become professors, and too few of them business executives.

In fact, I believe, virtually nobody wished, or wishes, to return to election by States, though there are certainly some who would maintain that Selection Committees are apt to pay too much respect to academic records and not enough to character. Here, of course, we touch upon the fundamental tension inevitably inherent in our elections, and no Committee, I suppose, would claim to have succeeded in holding its scales completely and permanently even. But in general what impressed me was the zest and friendliness of the debate, and the general interest evinced in it, together with the fact that the loudest applause of the session was reserved for the concluding declaration, from one of the protagonists, that the predominant sentiment of all was gratitude to the Rhodes Trust; 'there is hardly a day, and certainly never a week, when we do not feel a conscious gratitude'.

Henceforth I should certainly only have myself to blame if I did not realize how much an Association can do, in any constituency, to keep former Scholars in contact not only with each other, but, to its lasting advantage, with the contemporary Scholarship system. At that time there was an active Association in Australia, but nowhere else outside America. Since then, however, I am glad to say the example has been followed elsewhere, and I hope that before long there will be no Rhodes Scholars without their Association—save perhaps in India and Pakistan, where small numbers and great distances at present make a formidable obstacle to collaboration. A Canadian Association, for which Roland Michener's quietly efficient Secretaryship had steadily prepared the way, was launched during the first national Reunion of Canadian Rhodes Scholars,

which my wife and I were fortunately able to attend, in Montreal in June, 1951. South Africa followed suit in 1952. For some years our redoubtable Secretary, Bram Gie, with assistance from a handful of enthusiastic colleagues, had been functioning as a small-scale Association in himself; but the time had come for expansion, and the Association was duly born at the Wanderers' Club, Johannesburg, in the presence of a company which by good fortune included the Williamses—he was then Warden-elect—on the penultimate lap of their initiatory world tour. In Canada and South Africa the Associations already issue an annual News Letter.

All the larger constituencies now had their Associations, and, at a distance at any rate, it could be plausibly argued that none of the smaller could be expected to support one. Nevertheless, when my wife and I visited Malta in 1950 we could not help realizing that all the necessary moral and material ingredients were forthcoming in the George Cross island; and in 1953 a Maltese Association was founded, with Donald Sultana (Malta and St. John's, 1946) as Secretary. Since then an Association has been established in Bermuda, and there are more in the offing.

This is a process of the greatest significance. For at this stage in the history of the Scholarships a Scholar-elect should surely feel, not merely that he has been lucky enough to win a bursary which will take him to Oxford, but that he has entered upon lifelong membership of a world-wide brotherhood. An Association—which will probably hold a social function to bid him, and his sailing-party, farewell when he leaves for Oxford, and some of whose members are likely to greet him on his return, and to interest themselves in his career—can powerfully further this sense of fraternity. But in order to maintain a viable Rhodes community not only within each constituency but throughout the world even more than this is needed. A good deal towards this end we have already accomplished, thanks to the two Oxford Reunions, the Warden's sprightly and informative annual Christmas Letter, and up to a point, by the periodical journeys

overseas of successive officials of the Trust and of the Trustees themselves. The *American Oxonian*, too, has of late deliberately published a certain amount of news from other constituencies. But the time may come when the need will be felt of a periodical, and conceivably an Association, to do throughout the world what is already being done for the individual constituencies. Meanwhile, I hope that the issue of this memorial volume to every Rhodes Scholar will make its own contribution towards the same end.

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After the war, as was natural, the benefactions of the Trustees outside the Scholarships resumed a somewhat greater diversity. Not so many grants as in the early years were made in Oxford, though the services which Rhodes House and its Library were rendering to the University in themselves already represented a very substantial annual expenditure. But 1947 saw the payment of a gift of £5,000, promised before the war, towards the cost of the new Imperial Forestry Institute in South Parks Road. Very occasionally, and for special reasons, a grant would be made outside the periphery of the Rhodes domain itself, as when the Trustees contributed for five years towards the cost of establishing a library at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum.¹ (It is interesting to recall that the Founder had a profound admiration for Gordon, whom he encountered in Basutoland in 1882. When news reached him of Gordon's death in Khartoum he is recorded to have exclaimed repeatedly, 'I am sorry I was not with him! I am sorry I was not with him!') Another benefaction of a somewhat exceptional character was the setting up of a small fund, to be administered by the Colonial Office, for the benefit of students from the British Colonies—and there were plenty of them—pursuing their higher education in Great Britain, who found themselves in financial difficulties, and for whom no assistance from other sources was available. But, in fact, all the

¹ Shortly after this grant was made (although not as a result of it!) Lewis Wilcher (South Australia and Balliol, 1930), a son-in-law of Sir Francis and Lady Wyke, was appointed Principal of the College.

Trustees' grants, I hope, were exceptional, in the sense that they were designed to meet the unusual need of unusually deserving institutions, causes or individuals. And all in their several manners served to promote the basic twin objectives of the Founder, the welfare of the members of the British Commonwealth (and incidentally the fostering of the qualities which he desired his Scholars to display) and good relations between the Commonwealth and the United States.

A considerable proportion of the Trustees' grants naturally goes to South Africa, the birthplace of the Trust, and during this period they renewed their conspicuous generosity to Rhodes University, at a time when it found itself in urgent need of funds. Once more, too, a good deal was done for native education and welfare, and a number of grants or loans were made to the independent Church schools, whose tradition derives from the English public schools and whose ethos and vitality must impress any visitor, as it certainly impressed my wife and me during our visit to South Africa in 1948.

In the course of this tour we encountered from time to time persons who remembered Mr. Rhodes, and sometimes they had vivid anecdotes to recount of him. Hitherto no systematic collection of such informal reminiscences of the Founder had been attempted, and as soon as we returned to England it was arranged that John Garmany (Rhodesia and Queen's, 1948), a young Rhodes Scholar accustomed to historical research, should tour Rhodesia and the Union to tap all the potential sources of information known to us. For our present purposes the eleventh hour certainly seemed to have struck, but in due course Garmany's peregrinations yielded a surprisingly stout file of Rhodesiana, some of which should provide a future biographer with revealing glimpses of the Founder's character and idiosyncrasies. And since then investigation has continued. Many survivors with tales to tell have been discovered in Great Britain. And in the Union itself further investigations by two indefatigable admirers of the Founder, Mr. C. J. Sibbett and Mrs. Philip Jourdan, wife of his last Secretary, have continued to bring in a steady flow of fresh



“ RHODES SCHOLAR, NO DOUBT ! ”

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THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY
Trustee 1919-1955
From the portrait by Simon Elwes



SIR EDWARD PEACOCK
Trustee since 1925

biographical material of various kinds. During 1954 alone they contributed between them sixteen items, including two nineteenth-century manuscript autobiographies and the record of a number of interviews.

When, it may well be asked, is this material—and the numerous personal files in Rhodes House Library as yet unravaged by a biographer—to be put to use? The answer is that quite a number of years ago Sir Arthur Bryant, one of the most distinguished of living biographers and surely the most appropriate for this particular biography, undertook to write the new Life of Mr. Rhodes so soon as he should have discharged his existing commitments. Sir Arthur is a tireless worker, but, as any author who may be reading these pages will be the first to appreciate, the horizon of his work-in-progress has tended to lengthen as he advanced upon it, and there is little chance of the new Life being completed before the end of the present decade.

* * *

In the post-war years Mr. Amery, since 1933 the senior Trustee, continued to preside over the meetings of the Trustees and to bring to them his wide experience of men and affairs; and Sir Edward Peacock has watched over, and augmented, the Trust's investments. But in 1948 the genial Sir Sothern Holland died; he had worked in former days with Dr. Jameson, and as a Trustee had collaborated with Sir Edward Peacock on the Finance Committee. In the same year we lost Captain Hutchinson, after only eight years' service as a Trustee. A rider to hounds all his life, he died in the saddle when out with the Heythrop, and at his funeral they read R. L. Stevenson's *Under the wide and starry sky . . .*, with its moving last couplet,

*Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill.*

Three new Trustees were elected that year, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, Mr. C. H. G. Millis and Professor K. C. Wheare. The invitation to Mr. MacDonald was a far-sighted instance of pre-

emption; for he was serving as High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in South-East Asia, and seemed likely to remain for an indefinite period in the Far East. But the Trustees shrewdly decided to make sure of him before the inevitable competition for the services of so experienced an ex-Cabinet Minister commenced. Mr. Millis, a Merton man with a distinguished war record and an ex-Governor of the B.B.C., is a colleague of Sir Edward Peacock's in the City and an expert on finance. Professor Wheare (Victoria and Oriel, 1929) is the second Rhodes Scholar to become a Trustee. He has been a Fellow of University, is now Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration and Fellow of All Souls, and has more than once been invited by the Government to advise some perplexed area of the British Commonwealth on its constitutional problems. Sir George Abell was elected a Trustee in 1949, a Corpus man, formerly Secretary to the Viceroy in India and now a Director of the Bank of England, and himself a walking exemplar to Rhodes Scholars, who in his undergraduate days actually obtained a First Class and Blues in cricket, Rugby football and hockey.

It seems to me in retrospect that the most memorable feature of my period of office has been the uniform and quite exceptional good fortune with which, during it, almost all the key positions in our organization have been refilled. Roly Michener, it is true, was in charge of the Canadian Scholarships when I succeeded Lothian, and despite his since having held office in a provincial administration, and being now a Member of Parliament, he is still, I am thankful to say, Secretary to-day. But since 1939 new Secretaries have been appointed in all our other three major constituencies, and I can hardly think that any of these appointments could have been improved upon. And there is a further significance in them. For not only have we here three exceptionally able, distinguished and well-liked representatives, but each of them is a busy man bearing heavy responsibilities elsewhere who could not have been expected to assume this office but for his loyalty to the Rhodes idea. Bram Gie (South African College School and University, 1916) is a leading lawyer, and director

of great commercial concerns. George Paton (Victoria and Magdalen, 1926), who succeeded the tireless and generous Belian in 1953, is Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University. And Courtney Smith (Iowa and Merton, 1938), who became Secretary in the United States when Frank Aydelotte retired, full of years and honour (including the honorary K.B.E.) at the end of 1952, is President of Swarthmore.

In 1952 the Wardenship of Rhodes House, too, changed hands, for the second time. The knighthood conferred on C.K. almost coincided with the Allens' move to the nearby Banbury Road. It was overdue recognition of distinction in many fields, but pre-eminently of his services to, and through, the Rhodes Trust. Even without the unmistakable precedent set by the Wylies, the memorable reign of the Allens would have made it abundantly clear that, like the post of a good many sheriffs in Western films, though for different reasons, the Wardenship of Rhodes House is not merely 'a man's job', but a man's and a woman's too. And the succession of Bill and Gill Williams, as many former Rhodes Scholars will have realized during their inaugural world tour, bids most fair to maintain the prodigious standards set in the past. A new Warden who was not merely a Fellow of Balliol, Hon. Treasurer of the University Cricket Club, a member of the Hebdomadal Council and Editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but from the North African campaigns onwards had held down the post of Chief of Intelligence under Field Marshal Montgomery seemed armed cap-à-pie with every imaginable qualification—as well as some scarcely imaginable by the layman.

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Plans for the commemoration of the centenary of the Founder and the golden jubilee of his Scholarships by a Reunion at Oxford were pondered for at least three years before 1953. At first, it must be admitted—in an England of still merciless austerity and an Oxford already bursting the seams of its available accommodation—not without misgivings; if I remember right, it was

the Dean of Christ Church who first confidently predicted that we should be able both to house and to feed our guests. At first, too, we had thought, in the tradition of the earlier Reunion, of celebrations not wholly centred upon Oxford, of expeditions and social gatherings elsewhere and the descent of great personages from the outer world upon our Oxford occasions. We had even contemplated, and indeed tentatively arranged, a grand finale in Westminster Hall. But when my wife and I were in the United States and Canada in 1951, I sounded the predilections of numerous Rhodes Scholars, and in particular we both spent many agreeable hours mulling over the embryo programme with Frank and Marie Aydelotte on the veranda of their Princeton house—sessions in which, I need hardly add, the wives foresaw the practical difficulties, and their solutions, more frequently, and more shrewdly, than their husbands. And it soon became evident that what was desired, by American and Canadian Rhodes Scholars at any rate, was a centripetal and family affair, a Sentimental Journey to the haunts of their youth. They wanted, we soon realized, to spend their spare time hobnobbing with old friends, punting on the Cherwell and showing their wives the exact spot on which they were so nearly progged, and not in travelling in their best clothes to some resplendent but remote Reception. They did not think it necessary to invite Prime Ministers or Archbishops to deliver orations at the Reunion functions. The emphasis at this Oxford Reunion, in short, was to be no less decisively upon Oxford than upon Reunion. And so, in so far as we were able to canvas their opinions, said Rhodes Scholars everywhere.

And thus, in June 1953, the Reunion took shape; a leisurely, domestic affair, without outside intervention or, until the Oxford celebrations had concluded, outside excursions. Throughout, as before, the Reunion, the University and College authorities were kindness itself; indeed, without their generosity neither the Sheldonian ceremony nor the Gaudy dinners nor the accommodation of our guests nor, indeed, the Reunion itself would have been possible. And it is satisfactory to reflect that the gathering

must have refurbished or reforged many ageing links between the University and its Colleges and old members from overseas. Some of its success the Reunion undoubtedly owed to the weather, which had so recently showed little mercy on the Coronation, but was uniformly benevolent to us, but much more to the sense of affectionate expectancy with which our guests arrived. It was, indeed, so conspicuously the Reunion guests who made the Reunion that one can look back upon its four days not merely as a historic and sunlit occasion, nor merely as a resounding tribute to the past of the Rhodes Scholarships, but as the happiest assurance of their future. When all was over, many private letters echoed Joseph Sagmaster's words, in the jubilee number of the *American Oxonian*, 'we took away a new sense of devotion—I almost wrote "Dedication"—to the Scholarships'.

I find myself recalling these words as I glance over the latest Memorandum issued to all members of Selection Committees, and the reports from overseas on the latest elections, for 1955. In one sense these elections, the first since the ascent of the Scholarship stipend to £600 per annum, inaugurate a new era—and it should not be reckoned evidence of materialistic motives in the United States, where the competition of other awards is most severe, that a marked improvement in the quality of this year's entry has already been reported. In another sense, it is true, to think in terms of new eras would be quite misleading; for the process of election has developed smoothly, broadening down, like Tennyson's English Constitution, from precedent to precedent, as experience has accumulated. Exceptional devices, such as the preliminary selection kindly undertaken for many years in New Zealand by the Professorial Board, tend to disappear. And most of what the latest Memorandum has to tell Committee members about the composition of Committees, the principles of Selection, the interpretation of the Will or even the relative advantages, for a Rhodes Scholar, of advanced degrees and Honour Schools has found its way into a previous Memorandum at one time or another during the last half-century; the

Memorandum after all is 'an attempt to convey advice gathered from the experience of Selection Committees over many years'. Nevertheless, as, I hope, this latest specimen, in its turn, makes evident, those who are in charge of the delicate task of selecting Rhodes Scholars are always feeling their way forward, and it is chiefly because I believe that in the years ahead the principal formative influence upon the annual competition should come from the Rhodes fraternity itself that I now find myself recalling the words of Sagmaster, and many other Rhodes Scholars, after the Reunion of 1953.

For the Associations of Rhodes Scholars, I believe, will continue to interest themselves increasingly in the process of selection, and in the new generation of Scholars, and thereby will help to improve the quality of both. Increasingly in the smaller constituencies they are likely to provide the Committee with Secretaries. And they can facilitate certain interesting and fruitful experiments which during the last few years have been going on in many constituencies, where it has been found that an informal preliminary meeting, or meetings, with candidates, at a meal or other social occasion, in advance of the selection interview, will yield valuable additional sidelights on the potential Scholar's characteristics, besides easing the nervous strain, and curtailing the preliminaries, when he is eventually confronted with the Committee in awe-inspiring formal session.

It was chiefly the eventual influence of the returned Rhodes Scholar on his own country which concerned the Founder, and as to this plenty of evidence is forthcoming later in this volume. I have no doubt that that familiar but shadowy figure, the future historian, will in due course recognize and record the far-reaching aggregate impact of successive generations of Rhodes Scholars, not only upon their native countries, but upon the Commonwealth as a whole and upon the relations, both collectively of the Commonwealth, and individually of its members, with Great Britain and the United States. But the influence of a Foundation designed to seek out and advance young men fitted by character and intelligence to become the leaders of their generation is

necessarily subtle, and *Who's Who* is not always the most appropriate evidence of it. The spectacle of American Rhodes Scholars serving as Christian missionaries in China might have surprised Mr. Rhodes, but I do not think that it would have displeased him. And no one who has read the account of *The Brain-washing of John Hayes*, the missionary (Ohio and Merton, 1911), when a prisoner in Communist China, and of how inspired courage eventually enabled him to dominate his Communist interrogators, will doubt that seats in the Cabinet are not the only evidence that Rhodes Scholars have displayed, in the words of the Will, 'qualities of manhood, truth, courage and devotion to duty'.

And the Founder would surely have welcomed the accumulating evidence of the varied influence in both hemispheres of the example set by his Scholarships. I have frequently been consulted by would-be imitators of the Rhodes Scholarships, and Frank Aydelotte refers below¹ to a number of educational foundations to which he has himself been able to make some contribution and which were established in consequence, or in partial imitation, of the Rhodes foundation. The last of these, though he does not mention it, paid us the compliment of quoting verbatim, for its own candidates, from that definition of the all-round qualifications desired in a Rhodes Scholar which appears in our own Scholarship Memoranda. And it is natural that in an antinomian age there should be responses to the reminder, latent in the nature of the Rhodes Scholarships, that for significant achievement of any kind character is no less indispensable than intelligence. In a few American Universities there have been experiments based on the Rhodes example. And if Oxford not unnaturally continues to elect its own open Scholars on grounds of intelligence only, this very fact is likely, I think, in coming years to increase the significance of the contribution which the Rhodes Scholarships can make to the University.

For it seems possible that the risk inherent in selecting the potential leaders of the nation for their display of one of the two

¹ p. 207 f.

necessary qualifications for leadership, while leaving to chance their possession of the other, has until recently been partially masked by the simple fact that a very substantial proportion of these Scholars have derived from the English public schools; for the English public schools have always laid marked—indeed, their critics have sometimes said excessive—emphasis upon the training of character. But the revolutionary changes in the economic structure of Britain are altering all this. The public schools no longer supply the same proportion either of open scholars or of the general body of undergraduates. Moreover, the type known to generations of College tutors as 'the good Commoner'—of independent means, adequately industrious and intelligent, but not wholly dependent for his future upon his class in Schools, and variously active in the social and athletic life of College and University—tends to diminish in numbers; and by this diminution the University—the essence of which is to contain within its unity a multiple diversity—is impoverished. In all these ways there are partial, and perhaps temporary, lacunae in the age-old and everchanging life of the University, which in one way and another the Rhodes Scholarships might seem expressly designed to remedy.

But if it is true that in an age of change the University is inevitably changing, it is no less true that the University has been adapting itself to ages of change for seven hundred years, and has triumphantly survived them all. Now that the General Office of the Trust is in Oxford, the General Secretary continues to be able to survey the University through the eyes of contemporary dons and undergraduates as well as through his own. And on one so placed it is inevitably borne in that the essential Oxford is ageless—unchangeable and unchanged. Long after we are forgotten, punts will nose along the banks of the Cherwell under showers of hawthorn blossom in May, and in the Colleges talk as uninhibited as any in the world will continue to range over heaven and earth while clock after clock strikes midnight across the dreaming city.

II

THE RHODES SCHOLARS AND OXFORD
1902-31

BY THE LATE SIR FRANCIS WYLIE

CHAPTER I

THE SCHOLARSHIPS ARE BORN

MR. RHODES died on March 26, 1902. The substance of his Will was published on April 5th. Almost everywhere the Will was accepted as an interesting, because unexpected, revelation of the Founder's true character. For the moment, at any rate, criticism shrank before the munificence of the endowment and the largeness of the conception. If the Will interested the world in general, it interested Oxford still more; not the compliment only, startling as that was, but the possibility also that this endowment might affect in some way the life and character of Oxford itself. There was no denying the compliment: Oxford accepted it, and was flattered. Less flattering comments, of course, there were, mainly from America. But if suggestions that an American could get a better education at home, or gibes at Oxford's 'sterile classicism', reached Oxford ears, they did not much disturb Oxford complacency.

On the other hand, questions began to be asked in Oxford itself. Might not this endowment as much embarrass as enrich? What would these Scholars from overseas know—or rather *not* know? What about Greek? Were concessions expected? *The Times* had quoted from the *New York Evening Post* 'we greatly misread the present purpose and value of Oxford University if the endowment does not have an effect quite contrary to that which its founder had in view'. Was this a hint that Rhodes Scholars were more likely to influence Oxford than Oxford them? Presently, nearer home, an article appeared in the *Oxford Magazine* (of all places!)¹ which certainly was not reassuring. 'It may well happen that some of these [Rhodes Scholars] will find our time-worn Responsions wicket too narrow for them. The Scholar of the far West and South will not always be familiar

¹ *Oxford Magazine*, April 30, 1902.

with the prize puzzles treasured "in Parviso";¹ if that be so, we trust that the puzzles will go and the students will come in. So may the day for the reform of "Smalls" be hastened.' No wonder the champions of the Classical tradition sounded the alarm: in particular C. R. L. Fletcher of Magdalen and 'Tommy' Case of Corpus. 'This attack on Greek', wrote Fletcher in the *Oxford Magazine*,² 'is pretty certain to be made. . . . Let those who set any value on the best traditions of their University . . . make up their minds now to resist it with all their might.' Case was no less vigorous in the *National Review*.³ 'The Rhodes Scholarships will bring the Greek question to a crisis. . . . The argument will be—the Rhodes Scholars cannot be expected to learn Greek.' But if Oxford weakened on Greek she would 'lose a unique opportunity of extending her best influence, and imperil the future of Greek, Latin and Christian civilization everywhere'. That was in 1902. Actually, although the days of 'compulsory Greek' were numbered, it only passed finally away some seventeen years later; but the Greek fight was already on, and nobody knew what effect this 'barbarian' invasion might have upon the issue.

That was one question which the Rhodes benefaction raised in academic minds. And there was another. If you could bring yourself to look this noble 'gift-horse' in the mouth, you might discover weak spots. You might find yourself reflecting that every undergraduate gets more out of College and University than he pays for, the balance being met out of 'corporate revenue'—that is, broadly speaking, out of endowments.⁴ Might it not, then, be argued that these overseas students, more than half of whom would be Americans or Germans, would draw on endowments not intended for them? If so, would it not be seemly that the Rhodes Trustees should, out of their residue, reputed to be considerable, come to the assistance of University or Colleges, or both? This criticism has perhaps an unpleasantly bursarlike ring about it: but it was actually made. R. W. Raper of Trinity

¹ i.e. in *Responses*.

² *Oxford Magazine*, May 7, 1902.

³ *National Review*, May 1902.

⁴ The University was not, in 1902, in receipt of Government grants.

made it to me, quite forcibly; 'Oxoniensis' made it in *The Times* of May 15, 1902; and a writer in the *Oxford Magazine* of April 30th put it in the plainest terms: 'It is quite true that Mr. Rhodes's bequest does not directly help Oxford to meet the needs of these new Scholars: their contribution to the University does not answer to the demand they make upon it. . . . We are not without hope that in the end the Trustees may find themselves in possession of a remainder of money, which they may devote to the endowment of the University, and so to the direct benefit of Mr. Rhodes's Scholars.' People who made this criticism were not necessarily deaf to the appeal which Mr. Rhodes's venture had for the imagination, or unmoved by his faith in the spirit and influence of his old University: but they did want to remind the Trustees that there was, after all, an £. s. d. side to this spectacular offer of nearly two hundred overseas students, and that *just from that point of view* the bequest did not increase Oxford's resources—if anything, did the opposite. I passed this hint on to Lord Rosebery, the senior Trustee. All he said was, 'Rhodes has done his share: it is for others now'; but he said it with decision. That he did not always, even in those first years, take so decided a line will appear later.

The interest which the publication of the Will had aroused in Oxford died down, and by the beginning of the following October term most of us had forgotten all about it. Presently, however, it was brought again to our minds by the arrival in Oxford of a representative of the Rhodes Trust, who came to discuss, with University and Colleges, the conditions under which these new 'Scholars' should be admitted. This was Dr. (later Sir George) Parkin.

He was in the middle fifties, but there was a boyishness of spirit about him that made years of no account: and this, with his sense of humour, relieved the fundamental earnestness of his character. He had a good deal of the prophet in him; but he found it difficult to sustain that role for long at a time. There is a bust of him in Rhodes House, showing a lined face, precise hair and a hood elaborately correct: Parkin, and yet not Parkin.

An old friend found the right criticism—‘It lacks Parkin’s dishevelled gaiety’. It was never long with Parkin before dishevelled gaiety would come breaking in. He was a great talker, and loved to go all round a subject, ‘seeing it from every angle’ as he would often say. Nothing troubled him more in the early days than the difficulty he found in getting opportunities of discussing things with the Trustees. They were busy men and considered that it was for him to think things out, and make a recommendation: the Board must not become a debating club. Parkin wanted to talk it all out with them; and was pained when he found he couldn’t. It would have been even harder for him than it was, had it not been for Mr. Hawksley, the Founder’s solicitor, friend and trustee.

* * *

Bourchier Hawksley was a man of great kindness and inexhaustible patience, to whom, as it happened, it mattered little at what hour he went to bed. Here was Parkin’s man. They spent many an hour together, after most people were in bed, thrashing things out. I know from Parkin himself how much this meant to him. And I, too, the first Oxford Secretary, owe Hawksley a great debt of gratitude. If I ran into a difficulty, or wanted advice, I was glad, in those early years, to have Hawksley to consult. Either he would run down to Oxford for the night, or I would pay a visit to his office in Mincing Lane. There I knew I should find him, his table buried under bundles of protesting papers, himself, so far as I was allowed to see, with nothing more important to do than listen to me. He was indeed the working Trustee of that time. It may be that he is not much remembered now; but in any story of the Scholarships his place should be secure, not only for such part as he may have had in shaping Mr. Rhodes’s Will, but also, and perhaps even more, for what he did to help the Scholarships over the difficult years of their infancy.

* * *

To come back to Parkin, talking (at some length) to University and College authorities. There were two main problems. The first was, how to secure Oxford against the risk of these overseas Scholars proving unable to pass Responsions, more widely known at that time as 'Smalls'. Elementary as that examination was, it did include, as obligatory subjects, both Latin and Greek; and these were languages to which less and less attention was being paid in the New World.

Parkin and the University came to an agreement that there should be an examination equivalent to Responsions, and that no one should be eligible for a Rhodes Scholarship unless he had either passed this examination or had secured exemption from Responsions in some other way. The examination was to be run by the Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations, the Secretary of which, H. T. Gerrans of Worcester, was ready to examine anybody, anywhere at any time. The papers were to be set in Oxford, sent to wherever in the world they might be wanted, done by candidates under authorized supervision, returned under seal to Oxford, read and marked by Oxford examiners. That seemed safe enough, especially as the formidable Gerrans would be keeping his eye on it all the time. Anyone who passed this examination was to be free of Responsions. This met the difficulty: and some such safeguard was no doubt necessary at that stage. But it was a cumbrous nuisance, and seriously affected competition for the Scholarships. The history of this incubus is as follows (I give it as a matter of record; it can easily be skipped).

The first relief came in 1909 when a decree was passed in Congregation permitting anyone who had 'satisfied the examiners' in the Rhodes Qualifying Examination in Latin and Mathematics to take Greek by itself at some later examination. On this the Trustees authorized Committees to elect anyone to a Scholarship who had passed that examination in Latin and Mathematics, whether or no he had passed in Greek. To the 'doubtful starter' this made a world of difference. It was one thing to 'mug up' a 'useless' language like Greek on the off chance of passing in it, with thereafter an off chance of pleasing the

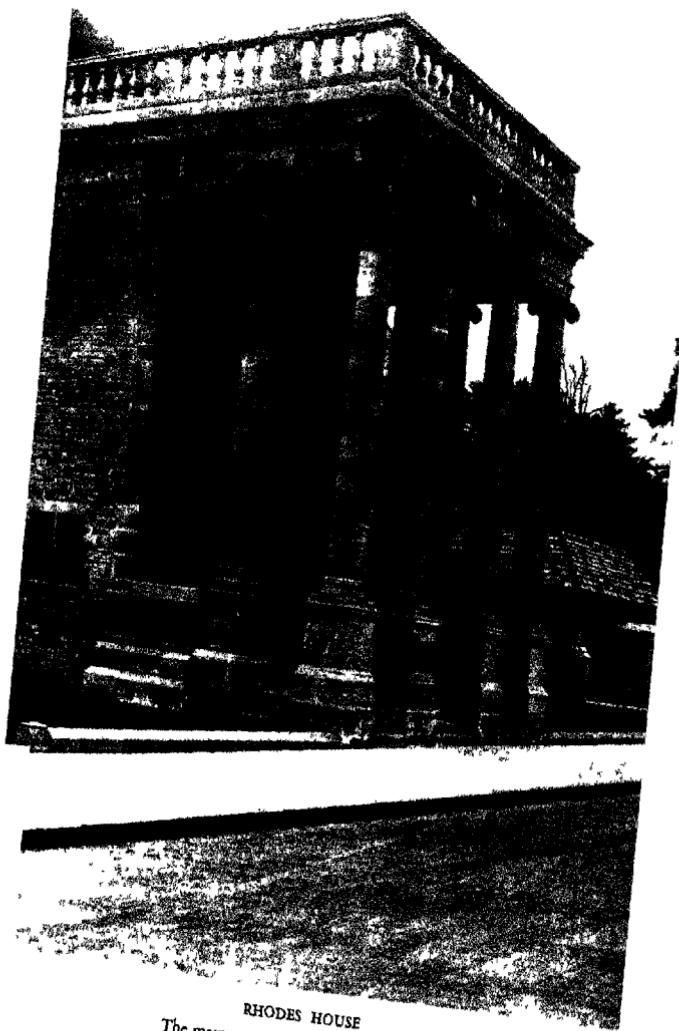
Selectors; quite another to do that with the Scholarship safely in your pocket.

So things continued until the end of 1918. By that time Oxford had had fourteen years' experience of Rhodes Scholars, and knew what to expect. It was growing tired, too, of hearing from many quarters that it was not getting the ablest men, and that the qualifying examination was, at least to some extent, the reason. The war was over. Many things would be making a fresh start, Rhodes Scholarships among them. Why not take the occasion to get rid of this bugbear of an examination? Parkin had been anxious to do so for some time: but he was in America. At that moment the *Oxford Magazine* asked me to write an article on the Rhodes Scholarships and any contemplated changes. I did so, and suggested that the most hopeful change would be the disappearance of the Qualifying Examination. I followed this up with a letter to all Heads of Colleges, asking whether they would approve of Rhodes Scholars being elected on their records without previous examination.

They did approve: and from then onwards the road to a Rhodes Scholarship was open to any man of ability and character, no matter what the field of his studies. If elected, he would still find as many academic hurdles in his path as before, but he would take them as an elected Scholar. He had 'got his Blue'.

* * *

The second problem that was troubling Parkin when he came to Oxford in the late autumn of 1902 was how to secure that the Scholars would be distributed throughout the University as Mr. Rhodes wished them to be. This was a matter not for the University but for the Colleges. So round the Colleges Parkin went. They responded to the challenge generously, agreeing to take so many Scholars a year. Numbers varied. One enthusiastic Head offered to take as many as the Trustees cared to send. Corpus would not commit itself to more than one in any one year. Of course, no College was surrendering any particle of its right to choose its members, and fix its own standards. All that



RHODES HOUSE
The main entrance, in South Parks Road



RHODES HOUSE

it was undertaking was to accept, up to a given maximum, such Rhodes applicants as seemed to come up to those standards, and to give them thereafter a fair chance to justify their admission. But that was all that Parkin wanted. He went off on his organizing travels, with the comfortable feeling that the Colleges could, between them, absorb the Rhodes Scholars, and that if difficulties should arise it would not be he, but the Oxford Secretary, who would have to deal with them.

As I was that Secretary for the first twenty-eight years, and have a lively recollection of experiences, sometimes trying, at other times amusing, connected with this annual attempt to bring Scholar and College happily together, it may contribute to the story if I let my memory roam.

* * *

Assigning Scholars to Colleges was out of the question. Twelve years as Fellow of a College left no doubt in my mind as to that. Colleges would insist on complete freedom of selection. Scholars-elect, on the other hand, would certainly claim the right to express a preference. Parkin and I had accordingly agreed that each Scholar should include in his dossier a list of Colleges in order of preference. It was down these lists that I worked, until the glad day came when I could write against a man's name 'accepted by —— College'. In the early years these lists were haphazard affairs, drawn up with little knowledge of the character or standing of the different Colleges, and varying considerably in length. A few Colleges were obviously more widely known than others;¹ but by and large (if the pedants will allow me this convenient expression) most men, at any rate most American men, who found themselves suddenly Rhodes Scholars had pathetically little upon which to base a selection. Things did slowly improve: but how slow the improvement was is illustrated by a letter I received a few years ago from an ex-Rhodes

¹ In the first six full years Balliol topped the list, appearing as first choice in 146 lists out of a total of 440, followed, at a long interval, by New College, Trinity, Christ Church, Oriel and Magdalen.

Scholar describing his embarrassment, as late as 1919, when faced with the need to choose a College.

You will remember [he wrote] that I was in hospital when the Scholarship was awarded me. You wrote me asking for my list of Colleges. There was no one I could ask. So I bribed the ambulance-driver to take me to New York Library. I was on crutches, I remember, and the elevators were not working, but I managed the long flights of marble stairs, and finally got about a dozen books on Oxford, which I read in, and looked at all the pictures. At the end I thought each College was lovelier than any other, and that they would all suit me fine! In this state of delightful confusion I found a telegraph office and cabled asking you to place me where you could.

That was a responsibility which I was careful as a rule to refuse to take; but this time, what with the hospital, the crutches, the cable and the need for hurry, I did do the choosing. I 'chose' Brasenose; and the letter ends, 'I found it was just the College for me'. Not less was he just the man for Brasenose. What makes this story significant in this context is that it reflects conditions, not somewhere in Wyoming—shall we say?—in 1904 or 1905, but in New York City in 1919.¹

The embarrassment felt by a Scholar when asked to name six or eight Colleges in order of preference will have been nothing to what he must have felt when he heard later from me, as many were bound to do, that he had not been accepted by any of his top choices, or even—and it needed only a little extra bad luck in the run of the game for that to happen—by any College he had named.²

Later, both Rhodes Scholars and those who elected them, came better to understand how chancy a business that of getting accepted by a College was, and how easily one's 'order of preference' could get mangled in the process. But that was not

¹ The Scholar in question, Henry Allen Moe, was elected to an Honorary Fellowship of Brasenose in 1955. (Ed.)

² The actual figures for the 'Colonials' and the Americans in two of the earliest full years (1905 and 1907), put together, show the following results—of 127 Scholars, 56 got their first choice, 20 their second, 16 their third, 10 their fourth, one his fifth, 2 their sixth, one his seventh, one his eighth; and 20 no College they had named.

so at first; and to many a Rhodes Scholar in the earlier years his failure to get into the College, or even into any of the several Colleges of his choice, despite a fine record and flaming testimonials, must have been difficult to understand, or to accept without resentment. And the testimonials could flame. Dr. Cyril Bailey tells me that in one of the earliest years of Rhodes Scholars, A. L. Smith of Balliol, at that time still History Tutor, came into the Quad one day having just read some forty dossiers of Rhodes applicants. 'I don't know what we are to do', he exclaimed, 'every one of these men is a cross between the archangel Gabriel and C. B. Fry.' The most remarkable of these early dossiers that I recall was one that included some fifty testimonials, on each of which was noted the special quality (of those named in the Will) to which that particular document was testifying. Alas! the Oxford record of this 'Admirable Crichton' was—well, let us say, disappointing. Not so his life. That has brought increasing honour to himself and to the Scholarships. Nor has any Rhodes Scholar done the Trust more loyal or, within his own sphere, more useful service. I have found it wholesome at times to remind myself of his story whenever Oxford Schools results have not been what one had hoped.

Occasionally, as it seemed to me, a Scholar who had failed to obtain his choice brought his soreness with him to Oxford. But if that was so—and it may have existed only in my sympathetic imagination—he soon lost it in the interest of new experience and the healthy atmosphere of a Junior Common Room, and before their three years were up (three years were the rule then) most Rhodes Scholars had come to identify themselves completely with their Colleges, and to feel for them all, or nearly all, the affection and loyalty that Oxford Colleges traditionally inspire.

And there is something else to be said. Sometimes in the ill fortune of his 'preferred' list a man was better served than he imagined. Many, if not most, of the lists sent in during those early years were headed by four or five of the largest Colleges, embarrassing the latter with more applications than they could

consider. There could be only one result. Inevitably many of the applicants had to find a home in some smaller College. 'Bad luck', thought the victim. But he may have been wrong. As we all know, there are men who will get more out of a smaller College than they ever would out of a larger; and that is more particularly true of men who come, as Rhodes Scholars do, into a world as strange to them as they to it. I recall the comment made on one Rhodes Scholar by a College tutor (admittedly a generous judge of his own pupils): 'If we [i.e. the dons] all disappeared, W. would run the College perfectly without us'. And here is an exact quotation from a terminal report: 'M.—a most admirable man, who has exerted a very good influence in the College, all sections of which will regret his departure'. Both these men were at smallish Colleges; and I question whether either of them would have become, to the same extent, a *person* in his College had that been one of the larger ones. But it is by becoming just that that a Rhodes Scholar gets much of what Mr. Rhodes sent him to Oxford to get.

* * *

But to leave the Scholars worrying over their mangled lists, and come to the Secretary. He, too, as responsible for getting them all safely planted out each year, had his share of worries; to which anyone, from the Head of a College to a newspaper man, could at any moment contribute.

In all the business of getting the Scholars distributed over the University the Colleges co-operated splendidly. They did not, however, always realize how important it was to keep things moving by making prompt decisions. It not infrequently happened that dossiers piled up at one or two of the Colleges, and stuck there, causing a block in the circulation which threatened a breakdown. At that point I would sometimes go in person to the Head of the College to extract a decision and recover the 'rejected addresses'. I recall a number of such visits,¹ but pick

¹ Including one to the then Warden of Merton, of whom legend was already making an inaccessible ogre, but whom I found, when I reached him, to be, after all, not so very different from the quite human Thomas Bowman whom I had known in the nineties of last century.

out one to mention here. It was to the Dean of Christ Church, but might just as well have been to almost any other Head of a House. The Dean apologized for the delay, picked up the dossiers, glanced at notes made by himself or others on the envelopes, put four or five on one side, muttering as he did so (if not in every case, certainly in most) 'recommended by an old member of the House', and handed me back the remainder. Here, I felt, was something delightfully characteristic of Oxford. What chance had the most flaming testimonial against 'an old member of the House'?

It was in connection with Rhodes Scholar applications that I received one day a visit from an old friend who had recently been elected Head of his College. He blew breezily in, and announced with a frank and almost boyish zest, that for the future he could only accept such Rhodes Scholars as put his College first on their list. I said I understood, and even sympathized; but went on to point out that, if all Colleges took that line—and why should they not?—it would bring Rhodes's experiment to a quick end. Every year we had from sixty to seventy Rhodes Scholars to dispose of among some twenty Colleges. How were we to secure that all these individuals, elected from as many different places, and with no communication with each other, should so order their 'first choice' that the Oxford jigsaw puzzle could be comfortably completed? I produced my chart of that year's choices—first, second, third and so on. We studied it together. That 'gave him to think'. He withdrew his ultimatum and promised to do the best he could for us. He kept his promise loyally; and I like to think that neither he nor his College had any reason to regret the consideration shown us. This incident has its interest as suggesting the trouble Colleges could so easily have made for us had they been meticulous in inquiry as to where they stood on an applicant's list of preferences. Fortunately, they showed a kindly indifference.

Most of the incidents connected with this business of settling the Scholars comfortably into Colleges, even when embarrassing

or irritating, had their comic side. Not, however, the following. One year *The Times*, commenting on a Report, issued from the Trust Office in London, which gave the number of Rhodes Scholars actually in residence at the various Colleges, drew attention to two Colleges as having the same large number 'presumably for rather different reasons'. As one of the Colleges was among the largest and most sought after, the other, at that time, among the smaller and less prominent, this comment admitted of an unpleasant interpretation, and was so interpreted by the smaller College, and resented. That was not surprising. What was surprising was that the Trustees were suspected of having been in some way responsible for the comment. I received a letter from the Head of the College in which I was asked to understand that we must not look in the future for the same generous treatment as we had hitherto received. My disclaimer of Trust responsibility and expression of Trust regret cleared the air a little: but the mischief was done. The College fixed a limit to the number of Rhodes Scholars that they would take in any one year: and it was not always easy thereafter to get them to go even to their own modest limit. This happened many years ago—so many that hardly any of those concerned can still be here to remember it. It is interesting to me to reflect that, were the same situation to arise to-day, it would not occur to any journalist, however stupid, spiteful or indiscreet, to make the comment that his predecessor made. There is change, even in Oxford. I add these incidents despite their insignificance to illustrate the kind of small worry that was apt to beset me in the course of the normal 'placing' of Scholars.

* * *

Sometimes it was the Scholars themselves who made my path rough. Every candidate for a Rhodes Scholarship had to include in the material which he submitted to the Selection Committee a 'personal statement' giving some account of himself, his interests and his aims. On one occasion two candidates, who were at the same University and were close friends, put their

heads together, and concocted a flowery and pretentious 'statement', of which, as they were standing in different constituencies, they thought each could safely make use. They were both elected. In due course their dossiers reached my office. All might still have been well, had they not sent in identical lists of preferred Colleges, and specially asked to be assigned to the same College. Round went the two dossiers each with its tell-tale duplicated 'statement'; and back they came to me. It was a great relief when at last they reached a College generous enough, or with sufficient sense of humour, to accept these simple-minded collaborators.

One year a Scholar-elect applied privately to Queen's, and, thanks to influential backing, received an encouraging reply. He then wrote in the same sense to Balliol. Finally, he sent me his list of Colleges in order of preference. New College headed it. I sent him, of course, to New College; and he was accepted. Presently, first Queen's and then Balliol telephoned to inquire about the papers of Mr. X who had applied for admission. I could only say that, in accordance with his official list, I had sent him to New College, where he had been accepted. The Provost of Queen's, legitimately annoyed, sent me the man's letter. It was a plain request to be admitted to the College. Trivial as this sounds to-day, it was disturbing at the time, when my one aim was to keep relations sweet between the Trust and the Colleges. I wrote the man down as a 'rotter'. He did splendidly, both at Oxford and afterwards. Death cut short a fine career.

On another occasion it was not the Scholar who made the trouble, but his former Headmaster, a keen old Magdalen man, who wrote to the President (Warren) asking him to take this desirable young man. But the desirable young man had views of his own, and put Balliol first on his list. Balliol took him. It was not long before I heard from the President asking when I was going to send him the papers. I explained. Warren, of course, accepted the explanation, but managed to leave me with

the feeling that he was annoyed, with the man, with the Headmaster and, however unreasonably, with me.

Once it was from the Scholar's family that the trouble came. I had arranged for the man's entry at one of the Colleges of his choice when I received a letter from his mother telling me that he had decided to resign his Scholarship and wished me to cancel any arrangements I might have made for him. Not feeling quite happy about this motherly concern, I wrote to the Scholar himself. He wrote back that I could expect him in October. He came, to the advantage of the Scholarships as well as of himself.

* * *

The Trustees soon realized that they would need someone to represent them in Oxford, to deal both with Scholars and with Colleges. In February 1903 I heard from Lord Rosebery, Chairman of the Board (whom I knew in consequence of having at one time acted as tutor to his two small sons), that they were looking out for someone in Oxford to act as a channel of communication with the Colleges and to keep a friendly eye on the Scholars—pay them their cheques, discuss their difficulties with them and, as he with his memories of Victorian Oxford put it, 'ask them sometimes to breakfast'. Would I care to be considered for the job? I hesitated. That needs perhaps explanation. To-day the position of Oxford Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees, combined as it is with that of Warden of Rhodes House, is one of established dignity and importance, scarcely one which a young and undistinguished don would hesitate about accepting. In 1903 it was nothing of the sort. The Rhodes Trustees were an outside body, and what kind of position within the University their representative would have, or could make for himself, was unpredictable. I was a Fellow and tutor, of some twelve years standing, at a College to which I was much attached. I hesitated. However, after thinking it over, I decided to accept the position, should it be offered me. In due course I was invited to lunch at Lord Rosebery's 'to meet the Rhodes Trustees'. Of the seven original Trustees, Lord Milner and Sir Lewis Michell were in

South Africa, and Mr. Alfred Beit unable to come. The four present were: Lord Rosebery, the host he always was, delightful and somewhat alarming; Lord Grey, generously encouraging; Dr. Jameson (not yet Sir Starr), his eyes alight with a faintly cynical but not unkindly humour; and Mr. Hawksley, flushed and friendly. Almost the only thing I can recall of that interview is something Jameson said. There was talk as to what Rhodes had really hoped would come out of his Scholarships. 'I know', said Jameson, smiling with the gentle irony of a friend who knew all sides of Rhodes's character. 'Sooner or later, another Cecil Rhodes.'¹

Lord Rosebery had his way, as he no doubt knew all along he would; and it was in this 'no damned nonsense of merit about it' fashion that I became the first Rhodes Secretary in Oxford. Actually, I was appointed to be 'Rhodes Agent at Oxford University', for which singularly unacademic title I feel sure Lord Rosebery was responsible, for in conversation with me he quoted, in justification, the title of Lord Cromer, 'British Agent in Egypt', which certainly was a sufficiently distinguished analogy. However, you needed to have been Foreign Secretary to feel comfortable with 'agent' and it was not long before the Trustees themselves came to think it inappropriate and, at the end of 1904, formally cancelled it, and substituted 'Secretary'.

Someone told me—probably Hawksley—that the Trustees had played with the idea of appointing some distinguished person from outside to represent them at Oxford. That would have been a gamble. In those early days while relations between the Rhodes Trustees and the Colleges or University were still indeterminate, and even delicate, local knowledge mattered more than distinction. I had been a don, and was about to be Proctor. I might be expected to know something of academic machinery and the temper of Senior Common Rooms. Of course, I made mistakes. Someone from outside might well have made more.

¹ I have somewhere seen this remark as made by Jameson in another context. He may well have made it more than once. He certainly made it at the lunch at which I was 'vetted'.

I had not been long appointed when I received a letter from Lord Rosebery telling me that Dr. Parkin had suggested coming to live in Oxford. Had I any views as to this suggestion? I had. I had just been appointed to represent the Trustees in Oxford 'for all purposes connected with the Scholarships'. This was an entirely new position. No tradition clung about it to give it character. It had to make itself. And, as a wise man once said, 'The beginning is more than half of the whole'. Now, I was very much of a *novus homo*. Parkin, on the other hand, was already a distinguished figure. He was many years my senior, and held an important office in the Rhodes Trust—had already, indeed, before the appointment of an Oxford representative, been in Oxford discussing preliminary problems with the University and the Colleges. Parkin's position was that of Organizing Secretary. The world, so to say, was his province, Oxford mine. But this distinction, of which Oxford would be, if at all, only indifferently aware, would, I felt, be powerless against Parkin's distinguished presence, once he were on the spot as a resident. No matter where the *jus* might lie, *de facto* he would stand, in the mind of Oxford, as the Trustees' representative and spokesman. That would make the going very difficult for the newly-appointed Secretary (or Agent). I put this to Lord Rosebery, who replied that the Trustees agreed with me. Parkin settled in a house at Goring, of which many a Rhodes Scholar will have delightful memories. I had not at that time made Parkin's acquaintance, nor could I foresee how closely and delightfully for the next eighteen years I should be associated with him, or how continually we should be crossing each into the other's province, sharing the problems and the experiences of the work upon which, with some difference of function, we were both engaged. But, whatever I had foreseen, I should still have held that the right policy, at that moment, was to leave the first holder of this novel position to make good on his own, and not either bolster him up or cramp him by settling a senior Trust official on the same ground.

As no Rhodes Scholars were due before October, I had six months in which to think about my new job, its scope and its limits. I saw one or two things clearly. First, the Trustees' Secretary might live in Oxford, and have dealings with undergraduates or Colleges, but he would be, academically speaking, an outsider. He had not been appointed by the University, and had no recognized status in the University. Secondly, just because he was an outsider, he would have to be careful not to interfere, or seem to want to do so. And thirdly, in so far as he was representing, not the Trustees only, but also to some extent the Scholars, there would be something Janus-like in his position; he might have to look two ways at once.

Here is an illustration of the last point. One year a Rhodes Scholar decided to take 'Schools' at the end of his second year, as his standing allowed him to do. He failed. Under the University Statutes, as his name had not appeared in the Class Lists at all, he was entitled to go in again the next year, and get whatever class the examiners of that year might think he deserved. That is what he settled to do. He spent the Long Vacation on the Continent, and was just preparing to come up for the Michaelmas term when he discovered that he was not expected. His College, it now appeared, had a rule that anyone who failed in Final Honour Schools went out of residence. That hit him hard. There he was—his summer behind him, his money spent, no job secured for the coming year and his Rhodes Scholarship forfeited. He wrote to me. Could not something be done? I wondered. After some correspondence with the College, I was invited to meet the Head of the College and two (or it may have been three) of the tutors. Such interviews are not often entertaining. This one almost was. It seemed to me that the College authorities were feeling that their failure to make it plain from the start what the consequences of being 'ploughed' in Schools would be had put, not the Scholar only, but themselves too, in an uncomfortable position. Was there any way out of the tangle? That was where I came in. If I, speaking for the Trustees, would ask the College to relax their rule in this case, the College might

reconsider their decision. But I boggled at that. The Trustees, I explained, did not wish, much less ask, Colleges to lower their standards for Rhodes Scholars. There might be circumstances in this particular case—and, speaking for the victim, I thought that perhaps there were—which made the enforcement of the rule more than ordinarily severe. That, however, was something as to which a decision lay with the College. The Trustees would accept, and act on, any decision to which the College might come. There was more talk; but it got us nowhere. As I rose to go, 'I hope, Mr. Provost',¹ I said, 'I have made my position plain'. 'Mr. Wylie', he replied, with a twinkle (almost a wink), 'your attitude has been eminently correct.' The next day a note arrived informing me that Mr. X was coming back. I wish I could add that he got a First the following summer.

That Colleges, or at any rate individual dons, could be sensitive about 'interference', or any appearance of it, was brought home to me quite early in my time. It was our custom in those days to have a photograph taken each summer term of the Rhodes Scholars as a group. One year I arranged the photograph for 9.0 a.m., thinking to keep clear of academic claims. Unfortunately, a Merton Rhodes Scholar, anxious to be in the photograph, not only 'cut' a lecture which his own tutor was giving, but also (with indifferent tact, as I thought) pleaded my 'summons' as his excuse. His tutor was the late Arthur Johnson. Those who remember that most human and delightful of men will hardly need to be told the sequel. He came post-haste to my house (we were near neighbours) and told me just what he thought of me and my 'damned impudence'. He enjoyed that; and we parted as good friends as ever—I would almost say better. And that, too, Johnson's friends will hardly need to be told. But I saw that I must keep thinking.

¹ It did not happen to be 'Provost', but 'Provost' will do.

CHAPTER II

FIRST ARRIVALS

SO far as Oxford is concerned, the Rhodes Scholarships began in October 1903, when six South Africans and five Germans came into residence. A seventh South African belonging to 1903 postponed one term, and came up in January 1904.

Only Germans and South Africans were elected for 1903, for the simple reason that there was as yet no machinery anywhere for electing Rhodes Scholars. But Germany needed no machinery. The Scholarships had been left to the 'German Emperor for the time being', and the Kaiser had no difficulty in nominating five Scholars in time for them to reach Oxford by October 1903. And South Africa, too, could get on, for the moment at any rate, without machinery. The Founder had left one Scholarship to Natal, and one each to four named Schools in Cape Colony, and three annual Scholarships to Rhodesia. The Schools at once nominated their Scholars, and in Natal and Rhodesia the Directors of Education were authorized to make recommendations to the Trustees. That is why it was possible for the year 1903 to steal a march on 1904 and, in however incomplete a fashion, to inaugurate the Rhodes Scholarships in Oxford.

But these seven South Africans and five Germans were not, strictly, the first Rhodes Scholars. They were only the first to reach Oxford. Already before his death Mr. Rhodes had begun to experiment with Scholarships to Oxford, by giving one to the Diocesan College School at Rondebosch, in which, as his neighbour, he had taken a close and affectionate interest. The first election to this Scholarship was held in February 1902. The School authorities, having difficulty in deciding between two candidates, consulted Rhodes as to whether the Scholarship might be divided between the two boys. Mr. Rhodes replied: 'If two boys are very close please understand it is within your

discretion to apportion the Scholarship with the approval of the parents: but only in cases in which the parents can afford to assist, for you must not starve your successful candidate at Oxford'. How characteristic! And how touching! The Founder, on his death-bed (he died on March 26th), is still thinking closely enough about his Scholarship to add that warning. The Scholarship was divided between the two boys. As, however, they were then only sixteen years old, they did not come into residence until October 1904, being deprived thereby of the privilege, which should have been theirs, of being the first Rhodes Scholars to appear in Oxford. And, when they did come up, their Scholarship being paid from the School and not through the Trust, it took us some time to realize that these two young men, one at Oriel¹ and the other at Exeter,² although on a separate foundation, were not merely Rhodes Scholars, but Rhodes Scholars in a unique sense, as having been *almost* nominated by Rhodes himself—elected at any rate in his lifetime and with his knowledge and approval. Their names will always head any list of Rhodes Scholars, as Pre-Will Scholars.

* * *

I had often wondered what these overseas Scholars, who were to mean so much to me, would be like; and had looked forward to my first meeting with them with interest, and perhaps with a little trepidation. It came upon me unexpectedly, and was not what I had pictured it as likely to be. It was some days before the opening of the Michaelmas term. I came into the Lodge at Brasenose (where I was still living), and was met by the porter: 'Three gentlemen to see you, Sir'. I turned, to find myself facing three immaculate young Germans, complete with top hats, frock coats and patent-leather boots. They clicked their heels as one man, and bowed. The first Rhodes Scholars! Spotless, too! And there was I, straight from golf on the old links above Hinksey, muddy and bedraggled. A disconcerting contrast!

¹ Frank Reid, Q.C., Chancellor of the Church of the Province of South Africa.
² W. F. Yeoman (who died in 1944).

And, indeed, I thought I detected on the faces of the Germans a faint air of surprise, as though for them, too, this interview was not quite what they had expected—and dressed up for. I carried them off and gave them tea: and that was the last I saw of the top hats.

The Founder's motive in establishing some Scholarships for Germans was political rather than educational. In sympathy with this motive the Kaiser would seem deliberately to have chosen for his Scholars young men who might be expected to reach positions of influence in later life. At any rate, the majority of those whom he nominated in those earlier years were from families of social or official importance. This was resented in some University circles; and there came one year a German professor protesting to the Trustees that the Rhodes Scholars were being selected from too restricted a field: the 'real student' was not getting his chance. Hawksley asked Parkin and myself to lunch to meet the professor. We grew sympathetic over lunch; and I began to fear that the professor was being led to hope that the Trustees might do something about it. But do what? It was, after all, no business of the Trustees to report *German* criticisms to the Kaiser, who had complete freedom of nomination under the Will. If they were going to protest, they would have to do so on the ground of criticism from *Oxford*. But I was not at all sure that there was criticism in Oxford serious enough to justify a protest to the 'All-High'. On getting back to Oxford I wrote to every College at which there had been German Rhodes Scholars. The answers made it plain that the Colleges concerned were satisfied with things as they were. I sent the letters to London: and at the next meeting of the Trustees (so I heard later) Lord Rosebery disposed of the matter by saying that as the Emperor was satisfied and Oxford was satisfied, he saw no reason why the Trustees should not be. And perhaps that was as well. There is no saying how criticism of the Imperial nominations would have been received in Berlin. Probably it would not have been allowed to reach the Emperor himself.

When Parkin was preparing his book on the Rhodes Scholarships,¹ and wrote to Berlin for information as to the principles upon which, and the methods by which, the German Rhodes Scholars were chosen, he found he could get none. Perhaps it was naïve to think that he would.

A day or two after the arrival of these Germans, one of them came to me with a long face. He had been presented with a bill showing that he already owed the College £93—made up as follows: Entrance fee £5, Caution money £40, Furniture £48. No one who goes back to Victorian Oxford will be shocked by this demand. An entrance fee was common. Caution money, not always as much as £40, was required of 'Commoners' at most, if not all, Colleges: and from the College point of view a Rhodes Scholar was a Commoner. As for the furniture charge, that is as typically Victorian as a 'deer-stalker' or a 'bone-shaker'. Up to this century it was customary, or at any rate quite common, for a freshman to have to buy the furniture he found in his rooms from his predecessor in them, at a price fixed by the College valuer, recouping himself on vacating the rooms by getting the then value of the furniture from his successor. The sum of £48 for furniture will probably have meant that the rooms were among the more impressive in the College; but so was the man's name. Altogether, in 1903, the bill for £93, however embarrassing, was not, at some Colleges, abnormal. But it certainly embarrassed my German, the first quarter of whose Scholarship was for £62 10s. (the German Scholarships being for £250, not £300). With some help from me, he survived the crisis. I saw, however, that something must be done, or there would be trouble all down the line. The Trustees agreed to guarantee Colleges against loss on Rhodes Scholars' battels up to £50 per man, on the understanding that caution money would be waived. The furniture situation eased itself, Colleges coming more and more themselves to own such furniture as would normally be found in a room, charging the occupant a rent for its use.

This was not the only embarrassing situation in which this

¹ *The Rhodes Scholarships*, Constable, 1913.

young German found himself. He was at Magdalen, but also a member of the Bullingdon Club. One summer evening the Bullingdon, after a successful dinner, voted, by way of a spirited finish to the proceedings, to raid the Magdalen Deer Park, secure a deer and brighten up the High. The raid failed. It became known in Magdalen that our German had taken part in it. Here was an almost unforgivable offence against the Oxford code of manners—one might almost say of morals. For once I found the President, Mr. (later Sir Herbert) Warren, frankly angry. A man, he complained, who could help outsiders to raid his own College had not begun to understand the meaning of College loyalty. I feared the worst. Somehow—but at what cost I forget—the culprit survived. I question, however, whether Warren ever forgave him.

Let me add, however, that no Head of a House was readier with sympathy or more generous in appreciation than Warren. He took an interest, not merely in the Rhodes Scholarships as an idea, but in Rhodes Scholars as individuals, distinguished and undistinguished alike. He took a deal of trouble over Rhodes Scholar applications (I often wished he would take less) and frequently surprised me by the amount he knew about the Rhodes Scholars at his College. He was a kindly man, whose criticisms, if he had to make them, were without venom. He would not have allowed himself the comment which another Head once sent me, in his terminal report, on one of his Rhodes Scholars—‘no nicer than before’.

The German Scholarships, like the American or Colonial, were tenable for three years; but, what with military service and State examinations, a young German could seldom afford more than two years for Oxford. Of the fifty-eight Germans who held Scholarships before the 1914-18 war only three stayed for a third year. The Trustees accordingly came to an agreement with the Kaiser that he should be allowed to nominate more than five Scholars a year, provided that there were never more than fifteen in residence at one time, and that those who accepted Scholarships stayed for at least two years. This latter condition was

suggested by the fact that, of the first ten German Rhodes Scholars, three stayed for one year only; and one year (in practice probably no more than six months, for the Germans tended to go home in vacation) would have been almost useless so far as Rhodes's intentions were concerned—especially as, certificates of proficiency notwithstanding, not all German Rhodes Scholars were sufficiently at home in the English language on their arrival to start at once getting, and giving, what they were meant to.

For the Germans, staying normally for two years only, the Honour Schools and B.A. degree were ruled out; for, at that time, in order to get 'standing' under the Statute on Foreign Universities (either Senior or Junior) and thereby the privilege of getting a degree in two years, a German had actually to have taken a Doctorate at a German University,¹ and few of our German Rhodes Scholars were of an age to have done that. That being so, most of them read for the Diploma in Economics and Political Science, which satisfied academic claims, without overtaxing, or perhaps even extending, their capacities. Some of them, nevertheless, managed to fail in the examination, and not always because of difficulties with the English language. Between 1905 and 1913, inclusive, thirty German Rhodes Scholars obtained the diploma, twelve of them 'with distinction'. Three took a B.Litt. degree. Others did special work in History, English Literature, Philosophy or Archaeology, without taking any examination. Only one took a Final Honour School, and he stayed for a third year in order to do so.

* * *

After the top-hatted Germans came the half-dozen South Africans, singly, and without ceremony. Some of them were quite young, a good deal younger than most Rhodes Scholars now are. Two were only eighteen, another nineteen. I was to learn, however, and quickly, that a 'Colonial'² boy might be young and, in a sense, inexperienced and yet well able to look

¹ A plain Ph.D. gave him Junior Standing; a Ph.D. with honours Senior.

² 'Colonial' is, of course, the term used in the Will.

after himself. It was the above-nineteen-year-older who taught me that. He was from Rhodesia; knew little Latin and less Greek; but had spent days, and nights too, on the veldt with a gun, a book, a loaf of bread and a tin of sardines. When I gave him the first instalment of his cheque, amounting to £75, reflecting that his veldt experiences would not have familiarized him with such things as cheques and bank accounts, I crossed his cheque for the bank at which the Trust account lay—call it Bank A. Off he went and turned into the first bank he came to, which happened not to be Bank A—call it Bank B. He presented his cheque and said that he wished to open an account. The clerk accepted the cheque and gave him a cheque book. In due course the cheque got back to Bank A, and there was trouble. I sent for my young Rhodesian and explained. 'I can fix that', he said, and went happily off. He went to Bank B, returned the cheque book and had an interview with the clerk, who had no doubt heard things in the meantime from the manager. The conversation, as reported with evident satisfaction by the boy, ran as follows:

Clerk. So you Rhodes Scholars are to be nursed, are you? You are to bank just where Mr. Wylie chooses?

Young Rhodesian. Ought you to have accepted the cheque?

Clerk. Well, not strictly perhaps.

Young Rhodesian. Then perhaps the pot had better not call the kettle black.

I no longer felt any anxiety as to this boy from the veldt being able to look after himself.

* * *

1903 was an overture. The real performance began in 1904, when seventy-two Rhodes Scholars came into residence, twenty-four from the British Commonwealth, forty-three from the United States and five from Germany. In the preceding August I had married, and we had barely settled in at 9 South Parks Road when the overseas crowd began to arrive. Anyone who knows anything about the post of Oxford Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees knows that, on the social as distinct from the adminis-

trative side, the Secretary's wife is, in sober reality, his 'better half'. The late Warden of New College, H. A. L. Fisher, himself a Trustee, said to me once, apropos of a successor to myself, 'No one can be the right man for the job unless he has the right wife'. If therefore I make only this incidental reference to my marriage, that does not mean that it was anything less than a major event in the early history of the Scholarships.

Seventy-nine Rhodes Scholars should have come up that October: but the South African College School made no election; Rhodesia could only produce one Scholar instead of three (and even he was not Rhodesia-educated); and in five of the American States no candidate survived the qualifying examination. On the other hand, we got an unexpected extra Canadian, who brought the total to seventy-two. Apart from this extra Canadian, the number of Scholars from Canada in this first batch of Rhodes Scholars was eight—one each from the following: Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, North-West Territory, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Indeed, we got an extra Canadian. This came about as follows. Sir William Peterson, the forceful President of McGill University, who was Chairman of the Rhodes Selection Committee, reported that there were two outstanding candidates for the Scholarship between whom the Committee could not distinguish. Could McGill not have two Scholarships for that year? The Trustees were shocked. Set so dangerous a precedent in the very first year! No; let the Committee reconsider, and if necessary re-examine. Presently came a further message from Sir William: Committee still unable to distinguish. The Trustees were in a quandary. Give no Scholarship at all? Or surrender? They surrendered. Sir William got his two Scholarships. If that was bluff on his part, certainly the two Scholars backed him up handsomely. One of them¹ took a First both in Classical Moderations and in *Literae Humaniores* won the Ireland and 1st Craven Scholarships, the Chancellor's Latin Essay and the Passmore

¹ H. J. Rose, F.B.A., now Professor of Greek at St. Andrews University.

Edwards Scholarship, and was elected to a Fellowship at Exeter College. The other,¹ after a First in *Literae Humaniores* and a Second in Jurisprudence, went on to win what is still regarded by many as the blue ribbon of an Oxford career, a Fellowship at All Souls. On this showing, Oxford would not have found it much easier to distinguish between the two men than the Quebec Committee had.

Nor were these two the only Rhodes Scholars of 1904 to win Fellowships. An Australian² did the same, after a no less distinguished career. In his second year he entered for both the B.C.L. examination and the Honour School of Jurisprudence (one paper in the latter actually overlapping one in the former), and was in the First Class in both. That must be a unique record. Many have taken a First in both examinations, but not in the same year. He may even be said to have made history: for the Law faculty, thinking perhaps that this performance a little derogated from the dignity of so 'superior' a degree as the B.C.L., promoted legislation altering the conditions that govern the B.C.L. examination. Under Statute that examination now begins on the same day as the Jurisprudence School—the Thursday in the seventh week of term—and the two run concurrently. No candidate to-day, however well equipped and agile, would think of challenging this Australian's 'record'. He was awarded, in addition, the Vinerian and Eldon Scholarships, and was elected first to a Lecturership, and in 1909 to a Fellowship, at University College.

Three Fellowships for the Rhodes Scholars of one year, and that the first (or rather, to be exact, the first full) year! We who were connected with the Trust began to preen ourselves. But presently we began to wonder too. What would Mr. Rhodes think of this? Was he sending his Scholars over here to crowd the Senior Common Rooms of Oxford? That was a pertinent question; and it did a little qualify our satisfaction. We need not

¹ John Archibald.

² J. C. V. Behan (now Sir John Behan), late Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne, and Secretary for the Australian Rhodes Scholarships.

have worried. It was eleven years before a Rhodes Scholar¹ was again elected to an Oxford Fellowship.

* * *

Oxford Fellowships, however, are far from being the only openings that may tempt a man to stay over here. How far, many a Rhodes Scholar must have asked himself, is he under any obligation to go back to the community or country which may be said to have sent him here? Occasionally that question was put to me. All that I could find to say was that, while no one could read the Will and not feel that the Founder was thinking of his Scholars as normally going back to the countries from which the Scholarships had drawn them, nothing, as it seemed to me, would be less in keeping with the spirit of Mr. Rhodes himself, or indeed of the Will, than that the development of his idea should be cramped by rules, or his Scholars held to any narrow reading of their obligations.

The Americans stand outside this problem. The number of them who did not go back to their own country was negligible. But it may reasonably be asked what percentage of the 742 Dominions Rhodes Scholars who came into residence in my time settled in England. No precise answer is possible because of movement. Rhodes Scholars are no less restless than other people, perhaps more so. Some who went home at first came back here later: more who seemed to be taking root here returned in the end to the country of their origin. A rough estimate would be 9 per cent. As to which I would make just two comments. First, that the percentage would have been slightly lower had it not been for the 1914-18 war, which for Rhodes Scholars who went to it from this country prolonged their absence from 'home' by something like five years, and meant that by the end of the war some of them had formed ties, sentimental or other, which influenced their decision: and secondly, that while the percentage may well be higher than Rhodes will have foreseen or wished, many of those who did

¹ P. E. Corbett (Quebec, 1915), elected to a Fellowship at All Souls in 1920.

stay over here have given service which would have won his approval, and which, in some cases, only staying here has made possible.

But it was not always because they remained in England that Rhodes Scholars did not go back to their original communities. Many found a career in some other part of the British Empire than that from which they sprang. As I look down the list of those that were in Oxford between 1903 and 1930 I find

Canadians who either are or have been in India, Somaliland, and West Africa.

Australians who either are or have been in India, the Sudan, Hong Kong, East Africa and New Zealand.

South Africans (including Rhodesians) who either are or have been in India, East Africa, West Africa, Australia, Canada, Nyasaland, New Zealand and the Sudan.

New Zealanders who either are or have been in India, East Africa, Somaliland, Canada and Australia.

Bermudans who either are or have been in East Africa, Rhodesia, West Africa and Ceylon.

Jamaicans who either are or have been in India, East Africa, Canada and West Africa.

Newfoundlanders who either are or have been in South Africa and Canada.

If the Founder 'turns in his grave' at that list it will be with pleasure, not in protest. No doubt he was of his generation in that, when he conceived of his scheme of imperial Scholarships, he was thinking primarily of ties to bind Colonies to mother-country and mother-country to Colonies. But the pattern of things has changed since 1899, and Mr. Rhodes's thought would have changed with it. It is difficult to believe that this criss-cross movement about the web of Empire would not have become as much part of his idea as movement between centre and circumference.

For some years a good many people worried themselves (and others) over the number of Rhodes Scholars who were not going

shyness or reserve, if one's rooms were cheerless, or one's tutor unsympathetic—why, there was always that armchair awaiting one in the Corn, with one's College pennant on the wall above, and very likely another homesick American in a chair near by.

However, after a few years of comfort, but also of increasing financial embarrassment, the rooms in the Corn were given up. The club became 'modester and modester'. For some years before it died (as it did about 1927) it met no oftener than once a fortnight, in rooms hired for the evening. Even this gave occasion for misunderstanding. Even so sincere a well-wisher as the sometime Provost of Oriel, L. R. Phelps, could get wrong about it. He crossed the street one day on purpose to say to me (or was it to his beard?): 'I like your Americans, but I wish they wouldn't spend so much time in that club of yours—club of theirs, I mean'. I explained that the club met no oftener than four times a term, and that the room was by no means always crowded. He bade me a hurried good-bye, leaving me with the feeling that he would never get it out of his head that Mr. Rhodes's intentions were being thwarted by this insidious American meeting-place.

But this talk of homesickness is in danger of distorting the picture. If a sense of loneliness was a real part of the total experience of some, perhaps even of many, of the early Rhodes Scholars, whether American or Colonial, it was rarely, if ever, more than a minor part. Sooner or later the friendly intimacy of College life warmed it away. It may be that, in those first years, it took a Rhodes Scholar longer to grow to Oxford and feel at home there than it has taken his post-war successors. But, however that may be, I know enough of that generation of Scholars to be confident that, taken as a whole, no body of men could have happier memories of Oxford, or a warmer feeling for it, than they have.

Of course, most Rhodes Scholars were older, by two years or more, than the English undergraduate normally is, and this made readjustment all the harder. It cannot have been easy for a man who had been a senior at a University in the Dominions or United States, and enjoyed probably a good deal of freedom and

importance, to find himself once more a freshman and treated as such. It made demands on his sense of humour. Normally that stood the strain. But not always. A Rhodes Scholar came to see me one day, noisily indignant. He had been 'gated' or fined (I forget which) for some breach of College regulations. I tried to get him to laugh at the whole thing, at the rule and at himself. Not he! He left, still flushed and indignant. As he reached the door he flung a parting shot: 'That's the sort of thing that lost us the American Colonies: and *the same thing may happen again*'.

But that story must be balanced by another, equally true. A Rhodes Scholar—an American this time—whom we will call R.B. arrived at a College at which it was the custom for the Dean to post at the Lodge a list of the freshmen who were to report at the Old Clarendon Building in the Broad at a given hour on a given day, to be presented by him to the Vice-Chancellor for matriculation. R.B.'s name was called in due course, and called again. No one answered. R.B., having seen no notice, was absent from parade. Arrived back at College, the Dean sent for R.B. and 'told him off'. 'I couldn't get a word in edgeways', said R.B. when he told me the story (and he enjoyed the telling of it). The Dean, an ex-Colonel of the Guards, finished up by saying, in effect if not in these words, 'Now I shall have to make a special appointment with the Vice-Chancellor for the sole purpose of matriculating you. Will it be enough this time if I put up a notice, or must I send for you?' 'I think, Sir', said the freshman, 'you had better send—and *send a perambulator*.' It is said that thereafter things were all right between Dean and freshman. So splendid a solvent is a sense of humour, whether you happen to be the freshman or the Dean.

CHAPTER III

SETTLING DOWN

IN November 1904 Lord Rosebery was the chief guest at a dinner given by the Oxford Colonial Club, at which the Rector of Exeter (Dr. Jackson) was in the Chair, and the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Merry) a guest. With Lord Rosebery's dictum—'Rhodes has done his share; it is for others now'—still in my ears, it was with amused surprise that I heard him say, in the course of his speech that evening, that, speaking for himself, he was convinced that 'if it was found that Oxford was pinched, hampered or embarrassed by this sudden influx of new blood, this new wine put into old bottles, the Rhodes Trustees would endeavour to adjust that transition'.¹ The Vice-Chancellor, who followed Lord Rosebery, did his best, in his own genial way, to pin Lord Rosebery down to this unexpected offer of assistance by thanking him for having saved him, the Vice-Chancellor, from having himself to suggest 'in the subtlest possible manner' that if the Trustees should be contemplating giving help to the University, there would be no opposition on the part of the University.² Hawksley told me subsequently that at the next meeting of the Board there had been some protest (mainly, it appears, on the part of Lord Grey) against Lord Rosebery having come so near committing the Trustees to a 'grant in aid': to which Lord Rosebery had retorted that they had not read his speech, or had misread it. *The Times* was sent for, and read out. 'That', said Lord Rosebery, 'only shows how easy it is, once you are on your legs, to say more than you had meant to.' That from England's most practised orator! It would seem then that, at that date, Rhodes Trust policy was better represented by Lord

¹ *The Times*, November 15, 1904.

² *Oxford Magazine*, November 15, 1904.

Rosebery's dictum than by the casual generosity of his after-dinner speech.

* * *

Lord Rosebery's reference to the possibility that 'this influx of new blood' might put a strain upon the resources of the University, raises a point on which I may perhaps be allowed to digress. Were there fields of study in which these overseas students, even in the earlier years of the invasion, were already making new demands upon the University? One certainly there was—that of Law. Before the advent of Rhodes Scholars, Oxford Law students had not been in the habit of reading for the advanced degree of B.C.L. in Oxford. They had, normally, left Oxford after taking their B.A., and read for the B.C.L. examination in London, returning to Oxford only to be examined. But now here were these Rhodes Scholars, tied to Oxford by the conditions of their Scholarships, but claiming, as graduates from elsewhere, the right under Oxford Statutes to 'occupy themselves for two years at the least' in hearing lectures or otherwise in the study of Law under the supervision of the Board: and yet, so far, there were 'no lectures or systematic teaching of several topics prescribed for the B.C.L. examination'. Nor were all Oxford Law Tutors prepared to undertake the extra teaching involved. It did look as though in this field Rhodes Scholars were helping to create a new demand. Certainly the Board of Faculty of Law thought so. A Memorandum, drawn up by the Chairman of the Board, and submitted to the Rhodes Trustees in 1908—from which I have just quoted—begins as follows: 'The Board of Faculty of Law has been forced to the conclusion that under present conditions the teaching of subjects prescribed for the B.C.L. examination is inadequate. The admission of so many Rhodes Scholars to that examination is in the opinion of the Board responsible for the present difficulties.' That is putting it pretty straight! Attention is drawn to the fact that of twenty

¹ The text of the Memorandum from which I am quoting says 'eight terms at least'; but, as the academic year was at that time divided into four terms, eight terms meant two years.

students who were that year engaged in the two years' course preparatory to the B.C.L. examination, fifteen were Rhodes Scholars, while of the other five, four were Indians and one an American, though not a Rhodes Scholar. It might also have been mentioned that in the preceding year (1907) of eight candidates who had succeeded in getting 'classed' in the B.C.L. examination six had been Rhodes Scholars. The Rhodes Trustees, when this Memorandum was first submitted to them, regretted that they were not at the moment in a position to offer the help asked of them. Some months later, however, on receipt of an appeal from the Vice-Chancellor, they undertook to contribute £200 a year towards a Lecturership in English Law.

It would, I think, be agreed by many, if not most, of the older generation of Oxford Law teachers that the Rhodes Scholars, so many of whom read for either the Honour School of Jurisprudence or the B.C.L., or both, did do much, in the years between, say, 1904 and 1929, to quicken the Oxford Law School. The late Dr. Stallybrass of Brasenose, himself a leading Oxford teacher of Law, once said to me that in his opinion the Rhodes Scholars had raised the standard of the study of Law in Oxford. Professor de Zulueta writes to me: 'I agree with what Stallybrass said'. On the other hand, Sir John Miles, whose experience of teaching Law in Oxford covers fifty years, will only subscribe to Stallybrass's dictum if that is limited to 'the second and third classes in the Law School'.

* * *

So much for Law. But Law was not the only field in which, it began to be seen, the arrival of Rhodes Scholars might mean a new, or at any rate an enlarged, demand. In 1895 the University had established two new degrees for 'advanced work'—a B.Litt. and a B.Sc. Hitherto these degrees had languished in semi-obscurity. Now it seemed there might be a run upon them. Overseas students—especially, at first, Americans—who had taken a degree before coming to Oxford, were tempted to think that they ought to be allowed to read for these so-called 'Research'

degrees. It was unfortunate, of course, that they were Bachelor degrees, and so of limited market-value outside Oxford: but they were better than nothing. It turned out, however, that there were difficulties. Candidates for these degrees were expected

- (1) to have had a thorough grounding in the general field within which their special subject would fall, and
- (2) to be competent to carry on their work by themselves, with only general direction or advice—not ‘instruction’—from a ‘supervisor’.

Unfortunately, at that time, only a few Rhodes Scholars could satisfy those conditions. The result was disappointment and friction. Tutors complained that men who needed just what the Honour Schools would give them wished to side-step these and embark on advanced work for which they had had no adequate preparation: and Rhodes Scholars complained that Oxford offered no preliminary training for graduate work such as they might have got ‘at home’. I heard a deal about this, from both sides, in those earlier years. A man turned up at my house one day who had been accepted as a candidate for a B.Litt. degree. He told me, with a mixture of amusement and perplexity, that his supervisor, with whom he had just had his first interview, had assured him that he knew ‘next to nothing’ about his subject, but would be delighted to see him from time to time and ‘have a chat about it’. I explained that this was just Oxford *εἰρωνεία*, and that he would probably find that his supervisor knew quite enough about the subject to give him all the help he ought to need. This incident, with allowance for exaggeration in its telling, does illustrate, not unfairly, the way in which Oxford at that time tended to interpret the relation of candidate and supervisor. It was all so new. There had been no time as yet for uniform standards to have established themselves, either as to what should be expected of candidates for these B.Litt. and B.Sc. degrees, or as to how much help ought to be given them.

* It emerges, however, from this digression—and that must be its excuse—that both in the Faculty of Law and in the Faculties of

Arts and Science there *was* a new and growing demand for the encouragement of advanced study, with which Rhodes Scholars had much to do. In the Faculty of Law this 'embarrassment', to use Lord Rosebery's word, was admitted, and even advertised. In the other Faculties it amounted to no more than a threat. But it was a writing on the wall. Oxford was approaching a time when she would be obliged to recognize, more than she had so far done, the demand for opportunities of post-graduate study, to encourage it, and to organize it. No doubt all this lay, in any event, in Oxford's future, but it might have lain dormant there for some time longer had not these graduates from overseas Universities arrived just then to quicken its awakening.

* * *

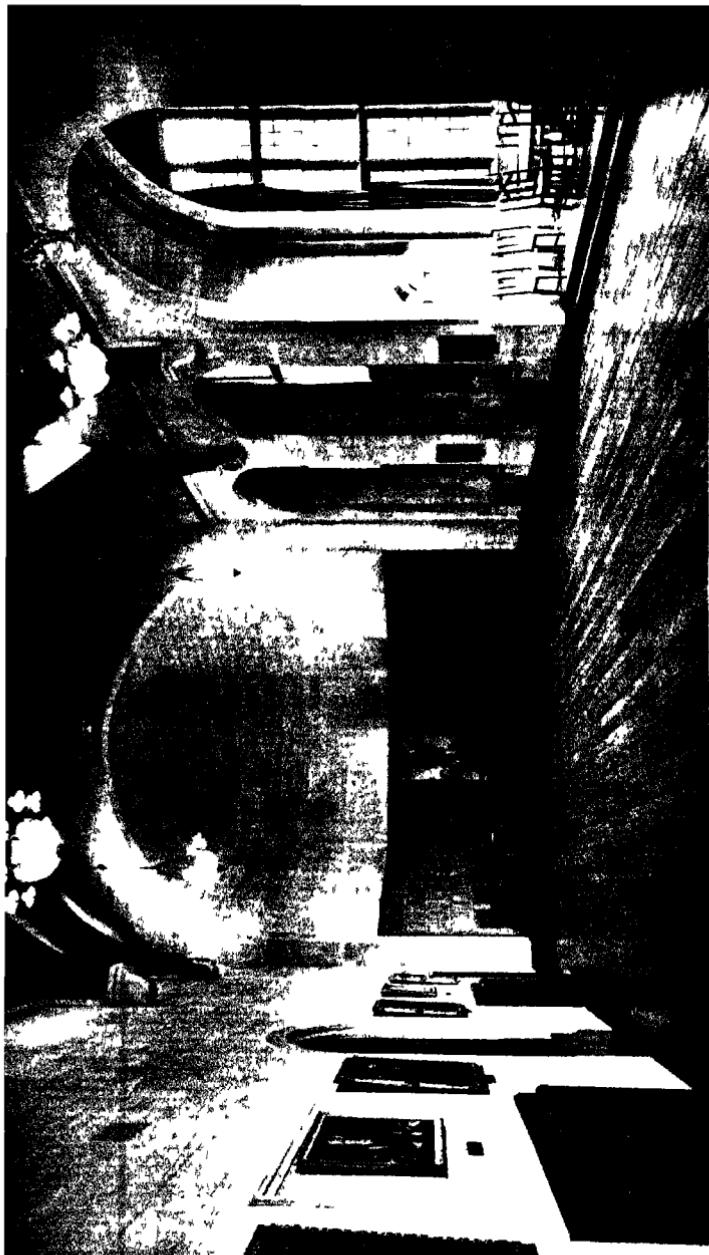
By 1907 we were settling down to routine. A Rhodes Scholar was ceasing to be a curiosity: he was dropping into his place as an ordinary undergraduate of his College. But not a 'scholar' of his College. A Rhodes Scholar is not elected by his College, nor is he paid by it. He is not 'on the Foundation': and does not (except, in my time, at one College) wear the 'scholar's gown', unless awarded that in recognition of some academic distinction won by him. He is, for the College, a 'commoner'. Trivial and academic as that distinction may be, it did twice in the earlier years become, for the moment, almost important. In 1909 a boy was elected to a Rhodes Scholarship who had already won an open scholarship at Merton. The College felt, not perhaps unnaturally, that a boy already in receipt of a Scholarship worth £300 a year was not the sort of person for whom a College scholarship was intended, and wrote to tell me so, thinking, or perhaps rather hoping, that the Rhodes Trustees might do something about it. I could only reply that, as there was no means test for a Rhodes Scholarship any more than there was for a College open scholarship, the Trustees had no power, even had they the wish, to make the winning of another Scholarship a ground for reducing the value of their own. By an odd coincidence a similar point cropped up within the next few months.



THE VERY REV. JOHN LOWE
Dean of Christ Church
(Ontario and Christ Church, 1922)
Trustee since 1940



GEOFFREY DAWSON
General Secretary, 1921-1922
Trustee, 1925-1944



THE MILNER HALL, RHODES HOUSE
showing some of the portraits

A Rhodes Scholar who was already at Balliol entered his name for a College Mathematical scholarship. The College felt as Merton had, and in their turn wrote to tell me so. I replied, after communicating with Lord Milner, that the Trustees regarded this as something in which decision must be left to the Scholar himself. For the moment it looked as though, just as Merton had been unable to deprive, so Balliol were going to find it, if not impossible, at least difficult not to elect, should this candidate turn out to be inconveniently good. From this quandary the Scholar himself extricated them by letting them know that he did not need, and, if elected, would not claim the money. He was elected; and was promoted to the scholar's gown. This particular difficulty could not arise often, for the age by which College open scholarships had to be won practically ruled overseas Rhodes Scholars out. The three who did in my time win open scholarships before being elected to a Rhodes Scholarship¹ had all, as it happened, been at schools in England, and won their scholarships while still at school.

Now that there is a means test for open scholarships, College scruples will not be strained as those of Merton and Balliol were. Those scruples were neither fanciful nor ungenerous. Colleges administer 'charitable' endowments, and are justified in being concerned that these should be used as they were meant to be. But the Rhodes Trustees are not administering a 'charity' in quite the same sense: and they have preached consistently that, of two candidates, the poorer has no greater claim on the Scholarship than the better-to-do. The sole consideration was to be the relative ability of the two to make the best use of the opportunity which the Scholarship offers: and from that point of view some means over and above the Scholarship is all to the good. At no time in my experience could a Rhodes Scholar, who had nothing to draw on beyond his Scholarship, do more than 'scrape through', with greater or less strain according to his College and

¹ R. L. (now Sir Richard) Nosworthy, K.C.M.G. (Jamaica, 1905);
E. J. (now Sir John) Waddington, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., G.B.E. (Bermuda, 1909);
C. M. Coke (originally Isaacs), Tanganyika Administrative Service. Died September 1948 (Jamaica, 1920).

his tastes. Certainly to me, sadly familiar with the financial embarrassments of so many of the Scholars, it was nothing but relief to hear that one of them was getting something extra. I knew enough not to be frightened by the bogey of 'extravagance'.

* * *

It was in June of 1907 that Lord Rosebery came, as Senior Rhodes Trustee, to unveil the tablet which had been put up in the Examination Schools to commemorate the foundation of the Rhodes Scholarships. He was officially welcomed in the South Room of the Schools by the Vice-Chancellor, Warren of Magdalen, who enjoyed such functions—or was supposed to—and did them well. Lord Rosebery began his address by expressing his regret that the tablet had been placed in 'the palace which you have erected for the purposes of examination' and not in the old Schools 'where (no doubt) Mr. Rhodes was examined in his time'. That was an engaging bit of sentiment; but, if tablets are put up to be looked at, scarcely in place in this context. Seldom as it may be that an undergraduate, hurrying to his ordeal up the great staircase of the Schools, has time or thought for the tablet at its foot, at least he has to pass it, both going and coming. In the old Schools it would not have had even that chance of catching someone's eye.¹ Lord Rosebery told us of Mr. Rhodes saying to him of his Will, 'It is the pleasantest companion I have'; and of how he would say, of the slander and abuse with which he was pelted, 'All this doesn't worry me in the least. I have my Will here'—as if, said Lord Rosebery, it had been in his breast pocket. He ended by saying that the Founder's noblest monument in Oxford would be 'the career, the merits and the reputation of the Scholars whom he has summoned within these walls'. A move was then made to the tablet, which Lord Rosebery unveiled, to the applause of such members of the University, senior or junior, as could squeeze themselves into the passage in which the tablet had been placed, or find a footing

¹ It might be different to-day, but Lord Rosebery was speaking some forty years ago, before the old Schools came once more to life.

on the steps above. It was an untidy finish to a function that had begun with order and dignity.

* * *

A more startling event in that year than Rosebery unveiling a tablet was the election of a negro to an American Rhodes Scholarship. It was the Pennsylvania Selection Committee who took this unexpected step. When the news reached Oxford, the Rhodes Scholars who were from southern States were dumb-founded. As opinion was in the southern States in 1907, the election of a negro to membership of what Rhodes Scholars were being urged to regard as a 'Society', almost a 'Brotherhood', was bound to come as a shock, an offence even, to any Southerner. They met in protest. There was, I believe, some loose talk about resigning Scholarships. They appointed one of themselves to go to London to interview the Trustees, who might, it was hoped, be willing to cancel the appointment. A vain hope. He was sympathetically received, but was reminded that there was plenty of 'colour' in the British Empire; and no British subject was going to be debarred from a Rhodes Scholarship on that ground. There was nothing in the Will to justify any such action. On the contrary, the Founder had said that no one was to be 'qualified or disqualified on account of his race or religious opinions', and it was at least arguable that 'race' covered 'colour'. The Pennsylvania Committee were within their rights in nominating as they had, and the Trustees had no intention of interfering.¹ That was definite. No one resigned his Scholarship; probably no one had seriously thought of doing so. But the concern of these Southerners was no pose. They were genuinely troubled. And perhaps we shall better understand their attitude if we remind ourselves that, only a few years before, the President of the United States himself, Theodore Roosevelt, had brought a storm about his head, and endangered his popularity, by asking a negro to a meal at the White House, though the negro in question was

¹ The question of the eligibility of negroes to a Rhodes Scholarship had been raised in more than one State as early as 1904. The Trustees had 'strongly and unanimously' affirmed that they would not interfere with the discretion of Committees.

no other than the late Mr. Booker Washington. Certainly, in 1907 it was a bold experiment, something of a challenge even, to elect a negro to an American Rhodes Scholarship. A good many people at the time questioned its wisdom; and some, later, its success. What is incontestable is that, in the forty-two years that have passed since the negro in question 'went down', he has done notable work among his own people, both as teacher and as writer.

* * *

In November 1907 W. T. Stead of the *Review of Reviews* came one evening to Oxford to talk to the Rhodes Scholars about the Founder and his ideas. On that subject no one had a better right to speak: for, strange as many have found it, it is unquestionable that Mr. Rhodes opened his mind more freely to Stead than to anyone else. He spoke of Rhodes with an emotion which he had difficulty in controlling, bringing to one's mind something which he had said in his book.¹ He there tells us that in April 1900, the Boer War being at its height, Mr. Rhodes said to him, 'Now I want you to understand that if in future you should unfortunately feel yourself compelled to attack me personally as vehemently as you have attacked my policy in this war, it will make no difference to our friendship. I am too grateful to you for all I have learned from you to allow anything that you may write or say to make any change in our relations.' 'And yet', Stead goes on, 'men wonder that I loved him, and love him still.' Yes, he made that plain at our meeting. Rhodes Scholars who were present, and many were, are not likely to have forgotten the evening. They may not remember the words, but they will the man. With his grey beard and inspired gaze he had something of the Hebrew prophet about him. And perhaps when he removed him from the list of his executors the Founder felt that the prophet had done his work, and should make way for the administrator.

* * *

¹ *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes*, p. 112.

In 1908 there came into residence a Rhodes Scholar from Rhodesia of whom, as the first Rhodes Scholar to appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it may be not inappropriate to say something here. He was born in 1885. At the age of eleven he was taken from School in Grahamstown, Cape Colony, to Rhodesia, where his father was a surveyor. There he started to idle. His father gave him the choice of either going back to school in Grahamstown or staying in Rhodesia *and working*. He chose the latter, 'in about a second'. An old wagon with a tent on the top served at once as office (below) and sleeping quarters (above). There Kingsley Fairbridge settled down, not yet twelve, to help his father. He came to know the veldt well, its dangers and its charm. He was never without his rifle. When he was twelve an idea came to him—he calls it a vision. He would bring farmers from England to fill Rhodesia's empty spaces. 'Homes, more homes.' The idea took possession of him. Meanwhile, besides helping his father, he turned his hand to other things—a stool in a bank, market-gardening, journalism—but to nothing for long. He read, 'at times voraciously'; he wrote verses.¹ Still, and all the time, a son of the veldt. At the age of eighteen he came to England on a visit. That visit, and what he saw in the course of it, changed the form of his idea. That was still the peopling of Rhodesia's open spaces: but he would not, now, bring out grown men or grown women, but children, unsoiled by life, that they might grow up in the clean air, and be trained for the clean life, of Rhodesia. Back in Rhodesia he brooded over this idea. Somehow he must get back to England. But how? A Rhodes Scholarship? He was promised one if he passed Responsions. Getting together what money he could, he came to England in 1907, passed Responsions at the fourth attempt, and in October 1908 matriculated at Exeter College as a Rhodes Scholar. He was twenty-three. At Oxford he made friends, played games, won his 'Blue' for boxing, read for a Diploma in Forestry (which he succeeded in getting) and founded at a meeting of the Colonial Club, in October 1909, the 'Child

¹ *Veldt Verses* were published by David Nutt in 1909.

Emigration Society'. Helped by a grant from the Rhodes Trustees, he spent a year, after 'going down', in speaking and writing on behalf of his Society. Rhodesia had been given up as unsuitable for an experiment such as he was contemplating, and it was to Western Australia that, in 1912, he went out to start, at Pinjarra, the first Fairbridge Farm School. There, worn out at thirty-nine, he died. His name survives in the Farm Schools called after him, and in the Fairbridge Memorial College in Rhodesia. His life story can be told in skeleton form: a large unselfish project conceived in early life and brooded over in silence over the years; the means for carrying it out secured by degrees and in the face of difficulties; the project realized, at least in part; an early death, leaving 'so much to do'. What is this but Rhodes's own life story, writ small?

CHAPTER IV

WAR

THE years went quietly by. The summer term of 1914 drew to its close. There may have been those, even in Oxford, who saw what was coming; but, so far as I can recall, 'Commem.' was as gay, Lord's and Henley as crowded, as ever. Rhodes Scholars had scattered for the vacation, many of them to the Continent—for those were the days of cheap 'pensions' and unrestricted travel. Seventy-three new Scholars were due to arrive in October—forty-seven from the United States, twenty-six from the Dominions. Then suddenly it was war.

I was deluged with letters and telegrams asking for information or advice. It was not easy to give either. The University itself was hesitating; might even decide to shut down. After all, this was the first time that either Colleges or University had had to face total war. The Boer War had scarcely scratched the surface of Oxford's life, and had left no lessons. It is not surprising that there was uncertainty and hesitation. Meanwhile, there were my letters and telegrams, demanding answers. The Americans were the problem. The war would claim most of the Dominions Scholars: but America was not in the war, nor very likely to be, so far as one could then see. Should the American Rhodes Scholars, more particularly the forty-seven new ones, be discouraged from coming? Or actually forbidden to do so? Or, if the University was proposing to carry on 'as usual', should they even be encouraged to come?

I was in continuous communication with Lord Milner. On August 6th, in reply to a letter from me, he wrote suggesting that I should leave the decision to the Scholars themselves 'and not give them a lead'. On the 13th he wrote: 'Personally, taking as I do a rather grave view of the probable duration and severity of the war, I think . . . in the interest of the Scholars themselves

it would be better to defer. Still, I don't think it is our business to give them a lead in that respect.' Again, on September 5th, with special reference to the Americans: 'On the whole I think that, if Oxford decides to go on—a course of the wisdom of which I am doubtful—it would not do for us to work against the decision of the University authorities by gratuitously advising our Scholars not to come.' He did, however, suggest that, if they *asked* for advice, it would be well to point out how little Oxford, under war conditions, would be like the Oxford they might be expecting to find. He ended by saying: 'I did at one time lean to taking a more decided line against their coming, but as I am really left to run the Trust almost alone at present, I do not like to take the responsibility of so strong a course, especially as Parkin, whom I consulted, leans against advising the Scholars not to come. He thinks, and there may be some force in it, that it would create a bad impression on the other side.' This correspondence is interesting as showing how worried and divided in mind anyone could be (even a Milner!) who had decisions to make in the first few weeks of the first total war.

So the Americans were allowed to come up; and did so, setting themselves to get what they could out of Oxford as it was. A number of them tried also, so far as that was consistent with President Woodrow Wilson's request for personal neutrality, to make some contribution themselves to the war effort to which they found themselves now so close. This took various forms, and was for varying periods. Belgian Relief took nineteen; the American ambulance in France eighteen; Y.M.C.A. work with troops six; the Red Cross two. One of the two who were in Red Cross work went to Serbia. This was W. C. Davison, 1913 New York Scholar. At one moment it seemed that Serbia was going to get several more; but a letter from Davison gave so appalling an account of conditions there ('they are dying—of typhus—at the rate of considerably over a thousand a day') that I consulted Sir William Osler. 'I should advise strong dissuasion', was his reply. I passed this on to the Colleges concerned, and the volunteers for Serbia were 'dissuaded'—if that is an adequate word

for the pressure brought to bear on them—from challenging the typhus.

These activities were all useful, and gave those who took part in them an experience which to some extent made up to them for what they were missing in wartime Oxford: but by the time it was all over I had come to feel that Milner had been right when he questioned the wisdom of having the Americans over while the country was at war. In saying that, I have only the Scholars in mind. Colleges, and perhaps the University, may have been glad to have them here, to help to keep the machinery running. But, for the Scholars themselves, it was a restless and unsatisfying time. They could hardly help feeling themselves out of place among a people so desperately at war. Sometimes a passer-by would let them see that he thought them so. The very ambulances as they went down the High could look reproach. Some did succeed in escaping from the war by concentrating on their work; but others, probably most, found conditions too distracting. For nearly all it must have been a struggle, subconscious, perhaps, but persistent, against a sense of frustration and disillusionment. It was all, as Milner had feared it would be, so unlike what they had expected. To many, the American entry into the war came as a relief. Two of them showed their relief by at once joining the R.C.A., from which they transferred later to their own Field Artillery. Actually, there was already one former American Rhodes Scholar, W. A. Fleet (Virginia, 1904), in the British army, with which he was still serving when he was killed in action in May 1918. Perhaps that will justify a few words about him here. He belonged to the first American contingent, and came up to Magdalen in October 1904. He was nearly twenty-one, but looked younger. He had a frank and boyish, I feel inclined to say a guileless, face. But there was nothing soft about him. He played lawn tennis for the University and Rugby football for the College. He was not a great Scholar, but he got a Third Class in Classical Honour Moderations. It was impossible not to like him. Nor could you take him for anything but what he was, a fine Southern gentleman.

His tutor at Magdalen, the late Christopher Cookson, told me the following story about him. Cookson and Fleet had gone to Italy together one vacation, and were luching one day in a restaurant when a large and, in other ways too, rather noticeable American came in and sat down some little way from them. Presently the newcomer began to attract attention to himself by his manner and language. Fleet got more and more restive; and, when Cookson and he got up to go, he went over to the stranger's table and said (I give it as nearly as I can in Cookson's words): 'Sir, I am an American too, and I beg you not to bring discredit on our people'. The astonished American replied: 'Young man, I am not accustomed to being spoken to in that way. But you seem to mean well. Good day.' That was all. But those of us who knew Fleet will realize what it must have cost his sensitive nature to do anything like that in a public place. Cookson certainly realized it, for he said to him—so he told me—'Well, Fleet, I know a lot of fine young Englishmen, but I doubt if many of them would have done what you have just done'. This incident and the generous impulse that sent him to fight for England while America was still standing out show what manner of man 'Billy Fleet' was.

By 1916 Fleet, who was teaching at Culver Military Academy, had earned a Sabbatical year. He decided to spend it in fighting for the Allies, and more particularly for England. There may have been contributory motives—there usually are: but his friends will not find it difficult to believe that the dominant one was a chivalrous desire to come to the help of the country which held so large a place in his affections, and which was in trouble. Somehow—and what 'grandfather clause' was found useful I never discovered—he secured a commission in the Grenadier Guards, and was with them when he was killed, in 1918.

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The war raised one question in which some Rhodes Scholars showed a lively interest. Was the rule that marriage forfeited the Scholarship to be enforced in wartime? Yes, said the Trustees.

Possibly, had it been known how long the war was going to last, the answer might have been different. But that was not known; and the answer first given held throughout the war. For all that, some of the Scholars decided, or were induced, to take the plunge and 'damn the consequences'. The war over, there they were, with wives, and in some cases children. What was to be done about them? The Trustees, bearing in mind that they had married while it was still uncertain for how many more years war might postpone their marriages, if indeed it permitted them at all, ruled that they should be allowed to take up, or resume, their Scholarships. But this concession was to be limited to those who were already married. The war was over, and a Scholar could now see just how long it would be before he could marry. It was for him (or at any rate not for the Trustees) to decide whether the Scholarship, or such part of it as might still be due to him, was worth the wait.

There were heart-burnings over this. One promising Scholar, who had been told during the war (in which he got the M.C.) that he could not marry without loss of his Scholarship, came back to Oxford to find other Rhodes Scholars enjoying both Scholarships and wives. After two terms he threw up his Scholarship and went 'back under', embittered. So much so that when, many years later, I was in his part of the world he did his best not to see me. I got round that by going to see him, and before I left the hatchet had been pretty well buried. A year or two later, when the Trustees made him a grant to enable him to come to Oxford for a year of special work, the hatchet was buried completely, and for good and all. I doubt if the Trustees ever spent money to better purpose.

Another Rhodes Scholar, coming back from the war unmarried, decided to call the Trustees' bluff. He married; told the Trustees that he had done so; and developed, for their benefit, his view of the case. When he found that the Trustees held the cards, he accepted defeat with unresenting philosophy. It was only with difficulty, and domestic inconvenience, that he lasted out his time. But he did; and took a high 'class' in Schools.

Whereon the Trustees, holding that he had 'played the game', made him an unsolicited grant of part of the Scholarship which he had forfeited. And this time, too, I think they cast their bread upon the waters wisely.

It was a distracted life these married Rhodes Scholars lived, torn, as they were bound to be, between the rival claims of wife, Schools and College. They could satisfy any two of these; but not, to the full, all three. I remember meeting one of them wheeling a perambulator down one of Oxford's dearest streets, his wife being busy with a second baby. He was a first-rate man, and did in fact get a First: but, beyond an occasional game of football, he could seldom escape from his student-nursemaid existence. I felt glad that Mr. Rhodes could not see that 'pram'.

There were amusing incidents among the grim ones of the war. There was the Rhodes Scholar who, having been refused a visa for France, got there all the same, via Italy (or was it Spain?). It needed all Parkin's tact and influence to rescue him from angry governments. There was that other Scholar who, while doing useful work in Egypt, allowed himself so much freedom of speech that he was told, politely or otherwise, to get back to America and stay there. And there were the three 'innocents' who chose one vacation to wander along the Irish coast, with cameras and some rather awkward names, and were surprised, and in the end a little alarmed, by the interest the police seemed to be taking in them. They would have been still more concerned had they known what careful inquiries were being made about them in Oxford and elsewhere.

One incident of that time gave us some concern. A South African of Dutch stock, elected to a Scholarship, was accepted provisionally by Exeter College. He had not volunteered for the war; and the Rector of Exeter, when writing to tell him that the College was prepared to consider his application, enlarged upon what, as he saw it, a Rhodes Scholar's attitude should be *vis-à-vis* the British Empire and the war. Those of us who remember Dr. Farnell's impetuous loyalty, military ardour and forthrightness, can well believe that he did not mince matters. Anyway,

his letter was too much for the Scholar, who wrote to the College to say that, had he understood to what, as it now appeared, acceptance of a Rhodes Scholarship was committing him, he would never have applied for one. Farnell was, of course, entirely within his rights in making such conditions for admission to Exeter as he, or the College, might choose to make: but he went beyond his book when he suggested—as the South African understood him to do—that acceptance of a Rhodes Scholarship committed the Scholar to any particular views, political or religious. The Founder had said nothing of that. Nor had his Trustees. On the contrary, from the Founder's point of view, it is as important to attract to Oxford South Africans who are Dutch in sentiment as well as by extraction as those who are from the start completely British. With the approval of the Trustees, I wrote, later, to this uncompromising Dutch-South African, to assure him that there was no political creed to which a man was expected to subscribe before accepting a Rhodes Scholarship, and to suggest that perhaps he might see his way to taking up the Scholarship after all. It was too late.

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The Trustees' decision to promote the Bill which revoked the German codicil in 1916 was an understandable reaction to the 'events which have happened'. It was also, implicitly, a criticism of the trend of Germany's foreign policy. It was not, and was never meant to be, a reflection on the conduct or spirit of the individual Germans who had held Scholarships between 1903 and 1914, though one or two of them were at one time inclined to take it as such. Of them as a group I am glad to have this opportunity of saying that, in my opinion, they did their best to live up to the spirit and intention of the Will, both getting from Oxford and giving to it. I think that, within their limits, the German Scholarships did as genuinely justify Mr. Rhodes of his faith as the American did, or the British. Convinced as I was of this, I found it difficult to listen with proper respect to a lady, equally distinguished and decided, when, shortly after the first

war, she assured me that nothing would have given the German Rhodes Scholars greater pleasure than to bomb Oxford. To my protests she replied that I did not know the Germans. This I countered by saying that however true that might be—and it was only partially true—I did know, as she did not, the individual Germans of whom she was speaking, and that I could not think of one of them who, if constrained under orders to bomb Oxford, would have done so with anything but loathing. That she evidently regarded as my amiable innocence.

Some years later, in a book of which I received an early copy, my eye was caught by a reference to Rhodes Scholarships. The author had allowed himself the bald statement that in the years before the war Rhodes's noble benefaction had been 'perverted to base uses by the Germans'. I sat down and wrote an indignant letter to the publishers. They replied that they were as much put out as I was, and were communicating with the author. A few days later, on the high seas, a 'wireless' was handed to me. It began (I write from recollection, but the expression was so dramatic and satisfying that it graved itself on my memory), 'X climbs down', and went on to tell me that a new page was being substituted for the offending one.

CHAPTER V

CHANGE

1919 and 1920 were years of change everywhere, and Oxford was no exception. Some of the changes had a special interest for Rhodes Scholars. In the first place, 'compulsory Greek' passed for ever away. No doubt some candidates for a Rhodes Scholarship heard of this change with relief, though, owing to other changes, Greek was not now so general a nuisance as it had at one time been; but the change did not come because of Rhodes Scholars or for their benefit. It had been in the air—an increasingly heated air—for years, and each year had brought it appreciably nearer. The statute that brought the long debate to a close passed Convocation on March 2, 1920.

The second change that was to bring relief to Rhodes Scholars, and to a good many others as well, demands something more of explanation. Since the nineties of last century there had been in existence statutes under which students from other Universities in this country or the 'Colonies' who could satisfy certain specified conditions could claim 'standing' at Oxford, either junior, which exempted from Responsions, or senior, which exempted from Moderations as well. Either standing enabled a man to take 'Schools' and degree in two years instead of three, provided he had taken Honours. In 1903 these privileges had been extended to students from foreign Universities; and, so far as Rhodes Scholarships were concerned, 'foreign' meant primarily American. A standing committee was charged with the business of determining the conditions under which students from other Universities could take advantage of these statutes. This committee started with the idea of formulating conditions for each University separately. This might have been possible for Colonial Universities: for American it was impossible—as the committee before long discovered. There were too many of them. It

remained to take each application separately, and try to assess the value of the individual student's record. But forty or forty-five years ago Oxford knew next to nothing about the methods, standards or terminology of American Colleges. The academic records submitted by Rhodes Scholars aroused in the mind of the normal don a bewildered, if amused, suspicion. In these circumstances there was bound to be something happy-go-lucky about the decisions of the committee. No one, I think, even of those who were on the committee, of which I was a co-opted member, felt quite comfortable about it all. Presently the war came: and after the war the talk was all of closer relations between the Americans and ourselves. A commission representing the Universities of the British Isles went to the United States and visited a number of the leading Universities. They came back to preach a more generous recognition of American degrees. The Oxford representative was the late E. M. Walker of Queen's, most exact, not to say exacting, of classical scholars, and a jealous guardian of Oxford standards. But now it was Walker himself who, back from America, proposed that Oxford should accept, as qualifying for senior standing, any 'approved' degree from any 'approved' University; and further that, so far as American Universities were concerned, Oxford should use as its criterion for 'approval' a list which the Association of American Universities was in the habit at that time of issuing of institutions recognized by itself. That list contained the names of something approaching 150 Colleges or Universities. These proposals were such an expansion of Oxford's 'foreign policy' as to be little short of a revolution. Perhaps only a fortunate coincidence of hour and man carried them through. But through they did go. At first there was hesitation and division of opinion as to which degrees at an approved University should themselves be approved. Some of the degrees (and not in America only) sounded singularly out of keeping with traditional views as to what an Oxford B.A. degree stood for. However, a kind of 'In for a penny, in for a pound' spirit was abroad in Oxford just then, and it was not long before



THE RT. HON. LORD HAILEY
Trustee since 1941
From the portrait by James Gunn



MR. C. H. G. MILLIS
Trustee since 1948



PROFESSOR K. C. WHEARE
(Victoria and Oriel, 1929)
Trustee since 1948



SIR GEORGE ABELL

almost any degree in Arts or Science at an approved University came to be accepted as qualifying for senior standing.

* * *

Nor was this expansion of senior standing the last of the post-war changes at Oxford of concern to Rhodes Scholars. A new degree was established, that of 'Doctor of Philosophy' (D.Phil.). Students from many Universities have taken increasing advantage of this opening to a doctorate, and among them many Rhodes Scholars, from the Commonwealth as well as from the U.S.A. It is clear that it meets a need. But that need might have remained unsatisfied for a good many more years had it not been for the war. It was of American students that, in 1919, the promoters of the change were chiefly thinking. Before the war, it had been to Germany that most Americans had been in the habit of going for advanced study. But it would be some years before they would again be drawn that way. Now was the time to divert the stream. But no American Scholar would come to Oxford for post-graduate study unless he could get a degree which had a market value equal to that of a German or American Ph.D.; and that no B.Litt. or B.Sc. could be said to have. Oxford must offer a doctorate. So far so good. But at this point a difficulty raised its head. Oxford already had doctorates, not in 'Philosophy', but in Letters and Science, of a character widely different from that of either the German or the American Ph.D. These Oxford doctorates required a standing, normally, of ten years from matriculation, and the submission of books or papers, containing an original contribution to the advancement of learning or science, which had stood the test of publication for at least a year. Would not this new degree lead to confusion, and to the lowering of the value of the existing doctorates, which were older, more distinguished and, incidentally, more expensive? I was present at one or more meetings at which the proposal was keenly, not to say hotly, debated. Some holders of the older doctorates were outspoken as to its 'injustice'. But there were effective voices on the other side—among which I recall

those of Professors Walter Raleigh and Joseph Wright. The D.Phil. won through. Its passage marked, not exactly a turning point, but certainly the beginning of a new phase in the history of the Rhodes Scholarships.

* * *

Rhodes House was occupied by the Oxford Secretary in December 1928, but for some months he shared it with workmen. The formal opening took place in May 1929, the Trustees being represented by Sir Otto Beit, Mr. Amery, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, Mr. Edward Peacock and Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, and the University by the Chancellor, Lord Grey of Fallodon.

Sir Otto Beit, on behalf of the Trustees, offered the University the use of Rhodes House, and more particularly of the Library, and allowed himself to hope that the building would help to keep Oxford 'the most beautiful University town in the country'. After the Chancellor had thanked the Trustees for their munificence, in a speech of characteristic simplicity and sincerity, the proceedings were brought to a close by a speech from an old Rhodes Scholar, Jan Hofmeyr, of South Africa, who happened to be in England at the moment, trying, in the comparative leisure of a trip to England after five strenuous years as Administrator of the Transvaal, to make up his mind as to the party in South Africa with which to throw in his lot.

Hofmeyr was so remarkable a man, and his career added so much lustre to the Scholarships, that there would be something missing if the story I am writing included no more than a passing reference to him. Born in 1894, he was only sixteen when South African College School elected him to their Rhodes Scholarship for 1910. He had already taken first class Honours in both Classics and Mathematics at the Cape University, but, as he was not much more than a boy, permission was given for him to postpone taking up his Scholarship until 1913. By then he had obtained his M.A. degree, and had taken a large share in the writing of the life of his relative, the great Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr. At Balliol he took First Classes both in Classical Moderations and

in *Literae Humaniores* (besides devoting much time to the Balliol Boys' Club). Back in South Africa, he was first a Professor, and then Principal, of the Johannesburg School of Mines, which became, under his Principalship, the University of the Witwatersrand. When not quite thirty, he was appointed Administrator of the Transvaal. His political career began towards the end of 1929, when he was elected Member of Parliament for Johannesburg North. Four years later he became a Minister, and was in office for practically the rest of his life, serving more than once as Acting Prime Minister when General Smuts was out of the country. He was a great administrator, and, although he lacked the magnetic something that enables a Lloyd George or a Churchill to thrill crowds, also a great orator. A member of Mr. Baldwin's Government, a man of wide experience, once told me that a speech which he heard Hofmeyr make as chairman of a public dinner at Johannesburg, while he was Administrator of the Transvaal, was perhaps the finest after-dinner speech he had ever heard (and I am not sure that I have not introduced that 'perhaps' myself). He seemed destined to step into the place that Smuts's death would leave empty. By one of life's ironies, it was he who went the first.

* * *

Rhodes House plays to-day so large a part in the life of the University that it may be of interest if I give some account of the stages by which it came to be, and of the close shaves it ran of never coming to be at all—in the form and on the scale with which we are familiar. From the start, the Trustees had intended to provide their Oxford Secretary with an official residence more in keeping with his position as their representative than was the villa in South Parks Road which was all they were able at first to secure. As it turned out, however, it was twenty-four years before he moved from 9 South Parks Road to Rhodes House. But there were moments in the course of those twenty-four years when it seemed possible, even likely, that the right house, or site, had been found.

It was in one of the earliest years that I received a letter from the Bursar of Brasenose asking if the Trustees would be interested in a lease of Frewin Hall, the historic house (parts of which go back to the fifteenth century) which Brasenose owns in the middle of the town—in which, incidentally, King Edward VII lived while an undergraduate at Oxford. The Trustees *were* interested; and Boyd, then General Secretary, came down to Oxford and went over the house with my wife and myself. It was not our report that prevented Frewin Hall from becoming the Oxford home of the Rhodes Trust, but the withdrawal of the Brasenose offer. I call that shave number one.

Shave number two came some years later. Hawksley, the Trustee who was chiefly interesting himself in this question of a house, was keeping his eye on a large and well-situated house in Oxford which he thought would meet the Trustees' needs. He was not only a friend of the owner, but his solicitor as well, and clearly had reason to think that the Trustees would one day have it in their power to acquire the property. Indeed, he took me to call, on purpose that I should see the inside of the house. In due course the house was offered to the Trustees. But Hawksley was dead. Owing to a misunderstanding, the offer was refused. When that came to my ears, I telephoned to London. It was too late. The University had just bought the house. Knowing what was in Hawksley's mind, I can only regard it as an accident that Rhodes House is where it is, and not at the corner of Jowett Walk and Mansfield Road.

Again, at the close of the 1914-18 war the Trustees approached Wadham, in the hope that the College might be willing to sell them a strip of land at the north end of what was then known as the Warden's Garden. They wanted at that time no more than would be enough for a good house and garden; for no one was then thinking of a Library, or of any building on the scale of the existing Rhodes House. The College was willing to let the Trustees have about an acre and a quarter. That was before the Christmas vacation. Six weeks give second thoughts their chance; and when, in the course of the next term, the Trustees'

offer came before the College it was refused. The Governing Body had changed its mind. So once again it may perhaps be said that accident—the accident of vacation interrupting negotiations—prevented a home for the Trustees' Oxford Secretary being built on a limited but ideal site, which would have so satisfied everybody that no question of further building would have arisen.

How comes it, then, that, after all, a great building does stand upon the Wadham site? Well, here too accident played its part. In June 1922 Sir George Parkin died. His friends felt that some memorial to him was called for. The Rhodes Trustees were sympathetic. Two meetings were held in London. It was agreed that a small Library of books on the British Empire would be an appropriate memorial. At the second meeting, Sir Edward Grigg, speaking for the Trustees, whose General Secretary he at that time was, said that, if Parkin's friends would find the books, the Trustees would house them. That did not sound, at the time, a very large undertaking: but it was, in fact, the start of large things; for this idea of a Library in connection with the Secretary's house set the Trustees upon a more ambitious scheme than had been in their minds originally, one that would need more land and, if the building was to be anywhere near the middle of the town, considerably more money. When attempts to find anything suitable in St. Giles or near by had come to nothing, a fresh approach was made to Wadham. This time the College, taking into account the official and academic character of the building contemplated, agreed to sell to the Trustees two acres at the north end of the 'Warden's Garden'. The friendly negotiations were somewhat prolonged by a copper beech, which stood obstinately just on the two-acre line. However, in the end that obstacle was not surmounted, but, literally, circumvented: and so, at long last, the search for a site was ended.

The Library in Rhodes House has not, after all, been called after Parkin, who is commemorated elsewhere in the building:¹

¹ The vestibule leading from the Rotunda to the Milner Hall is the 'Parkin Vestibule', and contains a bust of him.

but in so far as Rhodes House is more than just a home for the Oxford Secretary—and it is, of course, immensely more—its larger character can be traced back to the accident of Parkin's death in 1922, with the consequent desire of his friends for some memorial to him, and the offer of the Trustees to do their part in making such a memorial possible.

A site secured, it only remained to build upon it. So long as Sir Herbert Baker, Rhodes's own architect and intimate friend, was available there could be no question of anyone else being invited to design the building: nor any question as to his accepting the invitation. This was the opportunity for which he had been waiting. It gave him a chance to put into stone, in Oxford, what Rhodes and South Africa had meant to him. For the next few years we saw him often. He would run down for a week-end, or for a night only; would prowl about the site, or, as the building grew, about that; in the evenings would pore over blue-prints, and even, so far as the living quarters were concerned, invite suggestions.¹ He would be up early and round at the building before breakfast, get back to snatch some food and be off to the station. He was putting himself into his job with the intensity which was of his temperament; and what the strain was his face too often showed.

Little by little the building grew. It was beginning to suggest a fine house of the Cotswold type. But the blue-prints gave no hint as to how you would get into it. By a plain door? or a porch? or what? We asked Baker. He said he had not made up his mind. Something like an accident helped him to make it up. The Trustees were coming to feel that there ought to be something distinctive in Rhodes House commemorating Milner and his services to the Trust. Could not Baker suggest something? Baker's answer was the Rotunda. That, unless I am mistaken, explains how Rhodes House came to have an entrance to it which the rest of the building, so far as it had gone, had hardly led us to expect.

¹ It was indeed an 'invited suggestion' that led to the Warden's wing having seven bathrooms instead of the mere five for which Baker was planning!

Not that the Rotunda remained as the special Milner memorial in Rhodes House. Already by the time of the opening of the building, in the spring of 1929, it had been decided that, not the Rotunda, but the great central hall, should carry Milner's name. But what Baker's first intention had been is revealed in the earlier published ground-plans of the building. Both the *Architect* of May 10, 1929, and the *Builder* of May 17, 1929, contain illustrated articles on Rhodes House, with full ground-plans, obviously obtained from Baker's office: and in both the Rotunda is named 'Milner Hall', and the central hall 'Rhodes Hall'. The change, however, was obviously right. The whole building is Rhodes's, not any one part of it. On the other hand, it is altogether seemly that the dominant feature in the building, the great hall in the middle of it, should recall the Trustee who had been for so many years the central force round which the Trust had grown and developed. And that left the Rotunda free for what was no doubt all along its proper function, not to commemorate any particular person, but to symbolize what was, for Baker, the authentic Rhodes spirit—devotion to an ideal of service. That is why round the base of the dome is inscribed in gilt letters Aristotle's definition of man's highest good,¹ which had struck Rhodes when, as an undergraduate, he had first come across it, and to which he returned again and again through life, as containing, for him too, an ideal and an inspiration: why, also, on the upper walls the names are engraved of those Rhodes Scholars who, in two wars, gave their lives in the service of their countries: why, lastly, in the centre of the floor, set in a slab of granite from near Rhodes's grave in the Matoppos, is a brass inlay symbolizing, for Baker, 'the heat and energy which lie at the base of tranquil strength'.

Perhaps it was in keeping with Baker's fundamental idealism to seize the opportunity, when it came, of adding a shrine to the

¹ Τὸ αὐθόπινον ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς ἐνέργεια γίνεται κατ' ἀρετὴν, εἰ δὲ πλέον αἱ ἀρεταὶ, κατὰ τὴν ἀριστην καὶ τελειοτάτην, ἔτι δὲ ἐν βίῳ τελέτῃ (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1.c.6), the essential words of which Rhodes himself takes to mean, 'the active working of the soul in the pursuit of the highest object in a complete life'.

otherwise mainly utilitarian Cotswold building which was nearing its completion.

* * *

The appearance of a newcomer on so notable a site and so close to the heart of Oxford excited a good deal of interest. Already before the building was occupied, people would come wandering round, curious as to its purpose, or intrigued by its architecture. As to the latter, opinions seemed to be divided, as probably they still are: but everybody appeared to like the south or Wadham front. So I was the more disappointed when a former President of Trinity, who was credited with an informed interest in architecture, and whom I found one day studying that front, in reply to my 'Well, I hope you approve of *this* front' (I had a suspicion that he might not of the other), jerked out something about 'Doesn't know the scholarship of his subject', and turned abruptly away. I then remembered that the style of his own library was very different.

It must have been about the same time that, coming out of Rhodes House one morning, I ran into Phelps of Oriel. 'Whatever do your Trustees mean', he said, with seeming indignation (he was, of course, quite capable of putting it on), 'spending all this money on a white elephant. They ought to have given it to the Bodleian.' White elephant indeed! I feel sure that what everyone wonders to-day is not what can be done with Rhodes House, but how Oxford ever got along without it. There was, indeed, at that time a widespread—almost, one was tempted sometimes to think, a wilful—misunderstanding of the purpose of Rhodes House; a suspicion that it was, if not to house Rhodes Scholars, at least to provide them with a resort of their own. I grew weary of explaining that, apart from the east wing, which was to provide living quarters for the Oxford Secretary, the building was a contribution to the life, not of the Scholars, but of the University. How long it took for this perverse mis-

interpretation of the function of Rhodes House to die down, I have no idea. It was still lively when I left in 1931.

* * *

Rhodes House, besides providing the Oxford Secretary with living quarters, brought him also new duties. He became responsible for a large building, and acquired thereby a new title, that of Warden. Warden is, of course, one of the traditional titles used by Heads of Oxford Colleges—so steeped in tradition, indeed, that one Oxford Warden wrote to protest against its use by the Rhodes Trustees! It had actually been considered by the Trustees as a possible title for their Oxford representative at the time of his appointment, but rejected on the ground that, until there was a building for him to be Warden of, the use of that term would be misleading, and might with reason be resented: for every Scholar is a member of some College, and as such has his own Warden, Provost, Master or whatever the Head of his College may be called, whose authority over him he, equally with everybody else, has to recognize. It was better to avoid a title which might seem to hint—as ‘Warden of the Rhodes Scholars’ might—at some sort of condominium. But ‘Warden of Rhodes House’ suggests no conflicting claim. It is of the building, not of the Scholars, that that title proclaims him to be Warden; and that he incontestably is.

* * *

Rhodes House, with its large hall, put it for the first time in the power of the Trustees to entertain the Scholars ‘at home’, or at least in a more homelike atmosphere than that of the Randolph Hotel or the Town Hall. The Founder had suggested in his Will that his Trustees should give an annual dinner to ‘past and present’ Scholars, and should ‘from time to time invite as guests persons who have shown sympathy with the views of this my Will’. This the Trustees regularly did in my time, except during the war. They were formal affairs, those dinners, with speeches and a good many guests, both from inside and from outside the

University. No ladies were present, though, where conditions permitted, a select few might slip in with the coffee to hear the speeches. Of these (I refer to the speeches) there were too many. Not that they were not, often, interesting—as how could they not sometimes be when men like Smuts, Rosebery, Kipling, Milner, Barrie, were among those who gave them?¹—but five or six speeches at the end of a long dinner drew the entertainment out distressingly thin, and left no time for the talk and 'discussion of experiences and prospects' for which Mr. Rhodes expressly wished the dinners to be the occasion. As years passed and numbers grew, the thing became unwieldy. In the crowded years after the 1914-18 war even the Town Hall could barely hold us. In 1926 the Trustees decided to make a change. Thereafter there should be two dinners each year, one for the Freshmen in the Michaelmas Term, and one in the Summer Term for those who were 'going down', and it would be to the latter that past Rhodes Scholars and outside guests would be invited. This change only anticipated by a few years what the limited size of the Milner Hall in Rhodes House would in any case have forced upon the Trustees: but, quite apart from any space considerations, there were sound arguments for having two dinners, each with a character of its own, and each gaining by separation from the other. Experience has more than justified the change.

* * *

The most considerable happening in 1929 was the Reunion of old Rhodes Scholars in July. Scholars and wives between them came to not far short of 300, and there were children besides. Most of the bachelors were put up in the Colleges to which they had belonged. The problem of families was more serious, but was solved.

For the best part of a week there were entertainments and gatherings of one sort or another: among them a garden-party

¹ I like to recall that, in my opinion, one of the best speeches I heard at any of those dinners was that of an old Rhodes Scholar, Dr. W. L. Sperry (Michigan and Queen's, 1904), Dean of Harvard Divinity School.

at Rhodes House, and another at Cliveden, given by Lord and Lady Astor, with Bernard Shaw as an extra attraction; trips to places of interest in the neighbourhood; a dinner in the Milner Hall, with Mr. Baldwin in the Chair, and the Prince of Wales as chief guest; a general business-or-discussion meeting of the Rhodes Scholars attending the Reunion; and, to wind it all up, a reception, given by His Majesty's Government, in Westminster Hall. The invitation to this last had been given by Mr. Baldwin's Government before it fell, but the Labour Government which succeeded stood by it handsomely.

The big event of the week was the Dinner (with a well-earned capital D). It had been planned that all seven Trustees¹ should be at Rhodes House to give the Prince of Wales an official welcome on his arrival. He was expected at seven, dinner being set for a quarter to eight. Well on time—ahead of it even—the Trustees had gathered in the living-room of the Warden's wing. There was desultory chat. The clock ticked on. It was close on seven-thirty. A message came—the Prince had been detained. None of the Trustees were dressed for dinner. Mr. Baldwin and Sir Otto Beit were safe; they were dressing in Rhodes House. The other five decided that, Prince or no Prince, they must hurry away to dress. And that was the end of the formal welcome by the seven. One or two senior guests had by this time arrived. We were all in the living-room, except Philip Kerr, who was on the watch for the Prince. Word comes that the Prince is on the point of arriving. Steps are heard behind a screen which hides the door. Mr. Baldwin is in front ready to receive the Royal guest. The rest of us are stiffly on the alert. Someone comes round the screen. Mr. Baldwin is bowing. Not the Prince, after all! Only the arrival of another guest—Sir Edward Grigg. 'Ned, you brute', says Mr. Baldwin; and everybody bursts out laughing. Suddenly into the confusion of this anticlimax comes, unheralded, the Prince himself, followed by an equerry and Philip Kerr. Mr. Baldwin recovers what he can of his spoilt bow.

¹ Mr. Baldwin, Sir Otto Beit, Lord Lovat, Mr. Amery, Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher (Warden of New College) and Mr. Edward Peacock.

It is all rather flurried and informal, not at all like the intended ceremony.

The Prince is taken off to dress. Discovering that his equerry, Brigadier-General G. F. Trotter, who had the use of only one arm, had been assigned a room some way from his own, the Prince asks that he be given one nearer, in order that the two of them could share the Prince's valet. It is pleasant to put upon record this spontaneous act of princely consideration.

In due course the Prince reappeared, and the Rhodes Scholars filed past him on their way to dinner, in so continuous a stream as saved him the strain of trying to think of something to say to each of them. The dinner passed off much as all such dinners do. Mr. Baldwin, true to form, kept a large tin box of pipe tobacco by his side all the evening. The chief speakers were Mr. Baldwin and the Prince, but there were also speeches from representative Rhodes Scholars.

Before the dinner ended, an old Rhodes Scholar, who is no longer alive, Vincent K. Butler¹ (California, 1911), sprang a surprise. It appeared that he had secured two letters written by Mr. Rhodes in his own hand to Mr. Hawksley bearing, one on some of the qualities to be looked for in Rhodes Scholars, the other on uses to which his Trustees might put any yearly balance of income after provision for the Scholarships. These letters had been at some time or other acquired by Mr. Herbert Hoover, and presented by him to the Hoover Library of Stanford University: but now, with the approval of Mr. Hoover (by this time President of the United States), Dr. Wilbur, the President of Stanford, had generously consented to give them to the Rhodes Scholars of the United States, on whose behalf Mr. Butler now offered them to the Rhodes Trustees for the Library of Rhodes House. Mr. Baldwin accepted the offer, and expressed the gratitude of the Trustees both to Stanford University and to the Association of American Rhodes Scholars.

After dinner the Prince played his part royally: there were no

¹ Mr. Butler, a loyal and active old Rhodes Scholar, and an equally loyal son of Worcester College, Oxford, lost his life in an aeroplane accident in October 1935.

two opinions about that. It was near midnight when he left. As his car disappeared into the darkness, 'A success', said the Oxford Secretary to himself, 'and thank Heaven it's over'.

* * *

And so my term of office, and with it this story, draws to its close. The Rhodes Scholarships are manifestly 'of age'. They have come to stay. Rhodes Scholars are not merely accepted, they are welcomed, as bringing something healthy and distinctive to the increasingly variegated life of undergraduate Oxford. As we leave Rhodes House, and Dr. and Mrs. Allen take our place, I already know that the success of Mr. Rhodes's venture is assured.

III

THE RHODES SCHOLARS AND OXFORD
1931-52

BY SIR CARLETON ALLEN



THE MARQUESS OF LOTHIAN

General Secretary, 1925-1939

From the posthumous portrait by James Gunn in the Milner Hall, Rhodes House



ORD ELTON (General Secretary
since 1939) & LADY ELTON
at the 1953 Reunion



THREE GENERATIONS OF WARDENS OF RHODES HOUSE, AND THEIR WIVES
From left to right standing, Lady Wyke, Sir Francis Wyke, Sir Carleton Allen, Lady Allen,
sitting, Mrs Williams, Mr Williams

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY

SIR FRANCIS WYLIE was at work for a considerable time on his reminiscences. They were no light labour for a man of his age, especially when they were concurrent with his indefatigable, world-wide correspondence. It was with some relief that he completed his self-imposed task, and he died, aged eighty-seven, not many months afterwards.

With that unaffected modesty which was so characteristic of him, he often expressed doubts whether his recollections would be 'of much interest to anybody'. We, who are now able to read and enjoy them, have cause to be very thankful that he overcame that diffidence before he stole away from us; for he had a knowledge and a memory of his subject which no other living man possessed and which is therefore a unique record of the early history of the Rhodes Scholarships, with all its problems, expedients and vicissitudes, and (not least important) all its humours. To these latter Sir Francis, to the end of his days, never ceased to be alive, tolerantly but vivaciously; and that was fortunate, for, as his successor, I can well understand that a sense of humour was a highly necessary quality in the Secretary, or 'Agent' (astonishing suggestion!), during the nonage of the Scholarships.

Sir Francis has touched on many questions which remain permanent facets of the Scholarships, and in these ensuing pages it will be my object to supplement his observations from my own experience, and then to give a short account of what seem to me to be the principal events and developments during my term of office, from 1931 to 1952.

* * *

While my memory does not, of course, go back as far as Wylie's, it does stretch to one event which is the starting-point of

his story. When Mr. Rhodes's Will was made public, I was a boy of fifteen in Sydney, New South Wales, and I well remember the profound impression which it made. Australia at that time was very conscious of itself and its destiny, for it had recently become a federation. It shared, for the most part, the 'imperialist' temper of the time. We had seen, with excited plaudits, the contingents of 'Absent-minded Beggars', in their strange, new garb of khaki, marching off to do battle with Kruger; and, if I remember aright, there was not very much of that criticism of the Boer War which found forcible, if unpopular, expression among some of the Liberals in England. South Africa, therefore, had been prominently in all Australian minds, and Mr. Rhodes was its personification. There were, however, some worthy people, my own pious mother among them, who were a little doubtful about him; they asked themselves—not without Scriptural authority—whether a man could be so big, so powerful, so great a lord of this world, and at the same time a *good* man? But when the Will was announced, virtue had triumphed! It was an unexampled bond between the new Australian nation and what even the Cynics' Bible of the day, the *Sydney Bulletin*, disrespectfully but tolerantly called 'the Ma Country'. To be grappled thus with hooks of steel to such a friend could not be anything but *good*, for to a great many Australians England was, always and instinctively, 'Home'. I believe it still is to some, but the average Australian of to-day can hardly realize how intensely in those days the Australian's castle was his English home.

Soon afterwards I, as an inky junior, was forcibly reminded of the great benefaction when the second Rhodes Scholar from New South Wales was elected from among the Olympians in the Sixth Form at Newington College. He was the late P. H. Rogers, afterwards Sir Percival Halse Rogers, a Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, and for a time Chancellor of the University of Sydney. I recall that he sent a picturesque account of Oxford to the school magazine, but all I remember about it is that every undergraduate wore turned-up trousers (a quaint whimsy then to Antipodeans) and that the proper name

for a waste-paper basket was a wagger-pagger-bagger. This struck me as a fascinating aspect of the nonpareil University, and when I eventually found myself there I had the distinction of adding to the remarkable argot of the time ('Ugger', 'Mugger', 'brekker', 'ecker' and all the barbarous brood) by christening the Vice-Chancellor the 'Vicker-Chagger'. The title, I believe, had some currency, but seems latterly to have fallen into regrettable desuetude and even disrepute.

* * *

Cecil Rhodes's Will is one of the most famous in the world; of few other men can it be said with greater truth that 'he, being dead, yet speaketh'; but it is a very puzzling document, which would seem at first sight to do more credit to the testator's benevolence than to his acumen. The distribution is extraordinary. It may be, as Wylie has argued elsewhere, that Mr. Rhodes knew exactly what he was doing when he appropriated 'two of the American Scholarships to each of the present States and Territories of the United States of America', thereby (whether he intended it or not) founding ninety-six Scholarships for the United States as against only sixty for the British constituencies which he named; but neither Sir Francis nor anybody else has explained why he allotted only two (annual) scholarships to Canada, while Australia had six, South Africa (consisting then only of the Cape Colony and Natal—a very small white population) five, four of which were allotted to specified schools, Rhodesia (then a mere handful of settlers) three, while three venerable colonies, Newfoundland, Bermuda and Jamaica had one each, other colonies with good historical claims being passed over. If the Founder intended this arrangement to stand in perpetuity, he was possessed of less imagination than has usually been ascribed to him. But to me it is inconceivable that he ever had any such intention. He cannot possibly have supposed—it would have been contrary to all his aspirations—that the British Empire would remain for ever as it was in 1900. It is my firm belief that, having indicated the tenor, and designed the framework, of his Will, he intended to

leave complete discretion to his Trustees to make the adjustments which would inevitably become necessary in the course of time. Of this I have not the smallest proof, except the fact that it was a consistent principle throughout his life that when he trusted a man (say, Dr. Jameson or Jack Pickering) he did so absolutely. It was not easy to win his trust, but when he accorded it, there were no reservations. I believe that that was his attitude to the men whom he selected to fulfil his 'great idea', and that, as other parts of the Will suggest, he never intended to fetter their discretion or authority. If I thought otherwise, I should have to conclude that Cecil Rhodes was a much more naïve person than I believe he was.

The Will, however, was so drawn, or at all events so interpreted, that the original Scholarships became 'entrenched' for all time. The steps which were taken by the Trustees for a more equitable distribution have been described by Lord Elton. By the time I came into office all the more important adjustments had been made, except those which were to follow with regard to East Africa, Malta, India and Pakistan.

My wife and I had not been long at Rhodes House before we realized—not that we needed evidence—how much we owed to the pioneer labours of our predecessors. They did everything possible to acquaint us with the Scholarship system in all its ramifications. I had also had some practical initiation before I took up my duties in Oxford, as the Trustees had sent me on a pilgrimage in the United States and Canada, where I travelled unceasingly for some four months. I found this an invaluable experience in my subsequent work, and to this day remain greatly indebted to all the Rhodes Scholars who made the tour so agreeable and at the same time so instructive.

Unfortunately, my wife was unable to accompany me on this journey, because of the incorrigible habit which babies have of arriving at inconvenient times. Not only the newly-born, but all children of tender age, are an obstacle to travel, but we managed to make arrangements for them during our later excursions to South Africa, the United States, Canada and

Bermuda. All these journeys were of the greatest value to us in clothing with flesh and blood the whole geography of the Scholarships. I have often thought that the Warden of Rhodes House ought to spend almost as much time abroad as at home. But his Oxford duties are exacting and continuous, and unfortunately science, with all its triumphs over time and space, has not yet invented a means of being in half a dozen places at the same time.

Let me say here how warmly I endorse Wylie's observations about the conjugal partnership at Rhodes House. With true British reserve, he did not feel able to say much about the contribution of the young wife whom he married in 1904, and who was confronted immediately and without previous experience with onerous and largely unforeseeable duties; but everybody knows how great and how invaluable that contribution was. For her successor, it was a daunting prospect to live up to Lady Wylie's standard and reputation. As for the sequel, I must follow Wylie's example of discretion.

CHAPTER II

THE SYSTEM AT WORK

BY 1931 most of the teething troubles which Wylie has described were over. There was no longer any difficulty, for the average Rhodes Scholar, about academic status, nor was there any question of a 'qualifying examination or of Responsions and compulsory Greek. From time to time there were troublesome cases of men who, for one technical reason or another, did not qualify for Senior Status (which enables an overseas student to take the Oxford Final Honour Schools in two years, without any preliminary examinations). There were even a few instances of Rhodes Scholars of twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, with a full academic course behind them, being obliged, on these technical grounds, to waste a term or two in taking the old Pass Moderations before they could go on to their serious work. I always deplored these casualties and sympathized with the victims; but rules are rules and statutes are statutes, and at first I found that the University tended to assimilate its laws to those of the Medes and Persians. As time went on and Oxford became more and more accustomed to overseas recruits and their special problems, a more liberal tendency to concessions showed itself in the committee room and council chamber, and certainly after the second war it was rare for a Rhodes Scholar to suffer impediment or hardship through any of the lurking snares which abound under Oxford's complicated regulations. It was helpful that the Warden of Rhodes House was, and remains, a member of the Other Universities' Committee which deals with these matters and makes recommendations to the Hebdomadal Council.

These considerations apply only to those Rhodes Scholars (the vast majority) who have already taken degrees before coming to Oxford; and I here venture to register my entire concurrence

with Wylie's view that this earlier preparation is desirable for all but a very few Rhodes Scholars. The question of the 'ideal' age for the Rhodes Scholar has always been controversial, and in truth there is no 'ideal' age, since maturity varies so much with individuals; but my experience of Rhodes Scholars, and my own remembered experience when I first came to Oxford from Australia, confirm me in the opinion that very few overseas men are qualified to come straight from school to the Oxford disciplines; and I have known some who, in the attempt to do so, have felt hopelessly out of the race and thereby missed much of the benefit of the Scholarship. There are, on the other hand, some Rhodes Scholars, with previous University training, who are too mature, and too far advanced in their studies, to find the Oxford Final Honour Schools appropriate or profitable. Nowadays—though it was not so to the same extent in Wylie's time—these seniors can, and nearly always do, engage in advanced research at Oxford. That, however, is another academic question not without its problems, and I shall have more to say of it.

* * *

There was no serious difficulty, by the time I came into office, in the relationship of the Warden of Rhodes House with the Colleges. The Scholarships, the Scholars and the system of administration were all so familiar that one was no longer in the posture of a humble petitioner. Tact was always necessary, for Oxford Colleges are sensitive organisms, always conscious of their independence in judgment and policy; but, with very few exceptions, I found them co-operative and understanding, and if at times they showed a little impatience, it was only because they did not realize, and could not be expected to realize, the special problems of the Rhodes administration.

A slight difficulty which Wylie does not mention, perhaps because he did not suffer from it, but which I found rather troublesome, was that of College reports. The Warden of Rhodes House sees all his men at regular—and sometimes irregular!—intervals, but he cannot keep an eye on them all the time and he

is absolutely dependent on Colleges or individuals for information about their work, progress and conduct. This intelligence varied enormously; sometimes it was sent, in a *pro forma* manner, by the Head of the House, who occasionally did not appear to have a very intimate knowledge of his men; sometimes by a Dean or Senior Tutor, whose personal knowledge was usually more exact; while sometimes reports were collected by the Head from individual Tutors, a few of whom were always late, unresponsive or laconic. Many of these reports were extremely perceptive and conscientious and of the greatest help to the official who stood *in loco parentis*; others were so perfunctory and uninformative as to leave him quite in the dark. I longed to try to establish some uniform system and to apply some stimulus to the men of few words, but this was just one of the things which one could not ask, or even suggest, without the appearance of impertinence which would have been sharply resented. With regard to research students the difficulty was even greater. Colleges provided little information about them, and one day I got a shock. A certain researcher had been given colourless but on the whole commendatory terminal reports by his College. I happened to be sitting at dinner next to his supervisor—a very distinguished scientist—who casually remarked that this Rhodes Scholar was the most idle and unsatisfactory man he had ever had in his laboratory. The 'follow-up' measures which ensued, both with the man himself and his College, I need not describe; but I resolved there and then in future to obtain reports on researchers direct from their supervisors. I had no claim on them and certainly no right to demand anything of them, but I can never be sufficiently grateful for the way in which they responded. I do not think it is too much to say that before long I knew more about my research men than some of their Colleges did. All sorts of difficulties, and even discouragements, arise from time to time for research students at Oxford, and the knowledge which supervisors so freely accorded me often enabled me at least to clear the air, if not actually to smooth the path, by discussions with the researcher himself, or with his supervisor, or with both.

Altogether, as an example of the celebrated *ethos* of Oxford Colleges, I constantly noticed great differences in the personal knowledge and interest which teaching staffs seemed to have in their pupils; but wild horses would not drag from me any invidious comparisons in print!

* * *

Rhodes House itself was still new and untried in 1931, and the scepticism about the 'white elephant', to which Wylie has alluded, had not entirely disappeared and took a considerable time to vanish. To the end of my time—and I dare say my successor finds the same—there were still people who thought of Rhodes House as a kind of residential hostel, or social club-house, for Rhodes Scholars. As time went on, the manifold purposes which the building served, and which could not very well have found any other centre in Oxford, became evident to the discerning and were not lightly scoffed at. What was not always realized was that the accommodation provided at Rhodes House was entirely free hospitality. It has always been the policy of the Trustees to make no charge whatever, not even for 'overheads', to their guests. In this way the Trustees have retained complete discretion, at the cost of what might be a considerable revenue, about the guests whom they are willing to entertain. There is, needless to say, a certain general policy in this matter, but it is reasonably elastic and comprehensive, excluding only those activities which are plainly partisan or controversial. Now and then it irked me a little to receive somewhat imperious demands for accommodation, with requests for 'terms', from undergraduate societies and others, but these were made only through ignorance and were easily set right. During both term and vacation the activities and interests at Rhodes House became more and more diverse and I found it necessary to increase my secretarial staff in order to cope with them. Not the least memorable occasions were the Sunday night meetings of the Ralegh Club, at which many eminent visitors, of acknowledged authority in their different spheres, talked informally and privately on manifold aspects of the British

Commonwealth and joined in the brisk fireside discussion afterwards. In the summer term the Club, under the tireless guidance of the late Professor Sir Reginald Coupland, arranged a week-end 'corroboree' which was attended by many distinguished guests. The masculine dinner—ladies dining separately with my wife in the Warden's Lodgings—in the Milner Hall was the occasion of much oratory, among which I remember specially a brilliant and entertaining speech by Sir Winston Churchill, who was then 'in the wilderness' but was a most powerful voice crying therein. Another outstanding occasion was the visit of Mahatma Gandhi—a most impressive personality and fluent speaker, though many of us found it difficult to divert him from idealistic abstraction to what seemed to us to be concrete problems. The Raleigh Club always had a preferential standing at Rhodes House, and, indeed, when the building was designed the Trustees gave special thought to the accommodation of the Club in the stately Beit Room.

I will not attempt to describe all the other activities at Rhodes House, but anyone who saw the list of a typical year's meetings and doings would, I think, agree that very little time or space is wasted by the 'white elephant'. Whatever its colour, it is a working and a willing animal, capable of bearing heavy loads.

* * *

Another of the early awkwardnesses evaporated in the course of time. There have always been coloured Rhodes Scholars, particularly from Jamaica, who of course have been on the same footing as all others at Rhodes House. In 1931 their presence, however excellent they might be as individuals, still produced a noticeable restraint in the company of Rhodes Scholars from certain constituencies. By 1952, and indeed much earlier, this had entirely disappeared. To-day I think it may be claimed that there is no colour-bar whatever at Oxford, and anything like the protest, which Wylie has described, at the election of a negro Rhodes Scholar would, I make no doubt, have a very unsympathetic reception. One of the most significant changes I have seen in Oxford during my long residence in it is that several

dark-complexioned overseas men have been elected Presidents of the Union—a thing inconceivable in my undergraduate days. Indeed, in those prehistoric times it was regarded as revolutionary when a 'Colonial', who happened to be a Rhodes Scholar, was elected President of the Junior Common Room in my College—not without some fluttering of the Old School Tie.

One problem with which Wylie had to contend remained for his successor, and, so far as I know, still remains. I refer to the allocation of Rhodes Scholars to Colleges. Sir Francis has described the general system which I took over. There are twenty-one Colleges in Oxford and the Scholar-elect is required to nominate eight in order of preference. He may have a special connection with a particular College, either because a number of his predecessors from the same constituency have gone there (these territorial affiliations are not uncommon), or because, as often happens, he has been privately recommended to it by an old member. If, however, he has no special reason for his choice, his list of preferences is largely guess-work. He may have heard of, say, half a dozen of the Oxford Colleges; the remainder are scarcely even names to him. The result is that the few which, for one reason or another, are best known to the outside world, nearly always get more first choices than they can possibly take, while other Colleges which, whether justly or unjustly, are not equally renowned, get very few, if any, applications from Rhodes Scholars. This I always found extremely embarrassing. Differences between the prestige of Colleges are not nowadays so marked as they were in former times, and I could not deny the justice of complaints by some Colleges that, while quite ready to take their quota of Rhodes Scholars, they never seemed to get anything but the 'leavings' of other Colleges and sometimes got no applications at all. It was difficult to explain to them that the 'leavings' were by no means the least desirable material. I have known many examples of men who could not find places where they most desired and who have ended up, not without negotiation, at Colleges which they never contemplated; again and again it has turned out that they were happier there than they probably

would have been in the larger Colleges of their ambitions. Often they failed in their first choices because their dossiers, on which the Colleges form their judgments, and especially the 'personal statements' which they are required to present to their Selection Committees, did them grave injustice, and they proved to be far better men in the flesh than on paper. Indeed, after twenty years' experience, I could never be sure of the real quality of a Rhodes Scholar from the contents of his dossier. Many times I found that my tentative judgment was quite belied, for better or for worse, by the man himself when he appeared. Ah, those 'personal statements'! If any aspiring Rhodes Scholar should read these lines, I adjure him, when he comes to render his biography and self-analysis to a Selection Committee, to write simply and unaffectedly about himself and not with 'large utterance' or factiousness; for what he writes will eventually be seen by the cold, practised eyes of Oxford Dons, and there are no persons in the world less responsive to rhetoric, polysyllables and ill-judged humour than College tutors.

Another drawback of the system of distribution is that great diversity exists in the methods by which Colleges deal with their applications. Sometimes the choice rests in the hands of one or two officers of the College, or of a small committee; sometimes it is the practice that every Fellow sees the dossiers and expresses his opinion, the votes being collected by the Head or other officer of the College. It can be imagined that this last method is cumbersome and dilatory. There is always the don who holds up the papers or forgets about them, and on most Governing Bodies there are some recent Fellows who have had little experience of Rhodes Scholar applicants and are not very well qualified to express an opinion about them. It seemed and still seems to me elementary that every College should have a small representative body which surely could be trusted to make the selection, with due attention to the teaching resources of the College and the opinions of the tutors who were most likely to be concerned with the applicants. But who was I, or anybody else, to prescribe for Colleges their methods and customs? They would have told

me, very rightly and with some emphasis, to mind my own business.

At an informal conference, however, I put to College representatives quite frankly the great inconvenience from which my predecessor had suffered, and which I was beginning to experience, when a minority of Colleges 'sat on' their dossiers for an unreasonable time, thereby holding up the whole process of distribution, to the disadvantage not only of other Colleges but of the applicants themselves. It was amusing to see cordial approval on the faces of representatives from business-like Colleges, and some faint blushes on other faces. The righteous prevailed and there was ready agreement to a new time-table, to which the Colleges pledged themselves, for a series of circulations of dossiers. This was an immense improvement. For the remainder of my time the Colleges, with very few exceptions, adhered most considerately to the time-table and greatly eased a task which, in the most favourable circumstances, takes the best part of a term to complete and generally needs some diplomacy in a few cases which seem problematical but seldom turn out to be so in fact. As to at least half of it, the process of distribution was easy and straightforward; as to the remainder, while I found it extremely interesting and sometimes entertaining, I confess I heaved a sigh of relief when all was done and settled. Academic homes have to be found for between sixty and seventy Rhodes Scholars every year, and in recent times these knockers at the door have stood in ever-intensifying competition with many other overseas applicants of first-rate quality. A Rhodes Scholar cannot nowadays gain entrance to a College merely because he is a Rhodes Scholar. He has to approve himself as an individual aspirant against strong rivals; and while nearly all Colleges feel some historical obligation to the Rhodes Scholarships, there are to-day, from all parts of the world, heavy demands upon their limited space and resources. This is one of the reasons why the Trustees have constantly impressed on Selection Committees that it is better not to elect at all than to send to Oxford men who

compare unfavourably with others less fortunately endowed. The precept has been generally taken to heart.

* * *

Such other problems as remained were those which are inevitable among any cross-section of youth. Nobody will be surprised if I say that not every one of the young men who came under my tutelage reached the highest standard of Mr. Rhodes's 'rectitude', whether 'unctuous' or otherwise. I am happy to say, however, that cases of grave indiscipline or indolence were microscopically small. On the rare occasions when they occurred, my own view—and I think it was generally that of the Trustees—was somewhat stern, for I felt that since Rhodes Scholars were elected partly on grounds of character, it was right to expect of them not, indeed, impeccability, but a high standard of conduct and ethic. Colleges, I found, were generally disposed to mediate in favour of extenuation; that was doubtless all to the good, and as between prosecution and defence, I hope and believe that substantial justice was done. On only a few occasions my duty demanded that I should speak to Rhodes Scholars with frank reproach and even perhaps with some heat. I record with satisfaction that, with only two exceptions that I can remember, they did not resent plain speaking or make it a ground for personal hostility; several, on the contrary, have later expressed gratitude for it. There are some out of this erring handful who have proved abundantly by their later careers that they have quite overcome earlier defects and that drastic or unsympathetic measures at a time of difficulty might have been a poison rather than a medicine.

I suffered far more anxiety on account of the physical than of the moral health of Rhodes Scholars. Soon after we had taken office a freshman Rhodes Scholar from a very distant land nearly died of a sudden virulent infection, and would almost certainly have done so but for the swift and skilful ministrations of a young doctor. (He recovered so thoroughly that he went on undeterred to an outstanding academic performance at Oxford.) Later there

were several alarming cases of fulminant tuberculosis. Towards the end of our time there were two grave cases (with splendid recovery) of poliomyelitis and a heart-rending one of fatal leukaemia. Then there was the enemy, so familiar to all who have to deal with young men and women, of nervous and psychological disorder; nothing in my experience is more anxious or perplexing, and there is no University community in the world where it is not a problem; for youth, *pace* the poets, is not a care-free time of life. Let me not give the impression that serious ill health was common among Rhodes Scholars; on the contrary, it affected only a very small minority; but when it occurred it was made the more perturbing by the fact that the patient was a long way from his home and it was essential to keep parents and kindred informed and to warn them of any danger. Every Rhodes Scholar at candidature is now required to produce a medical certificate, and since he is *ex hypothesi* not 'merely a bookworm', if not actually an athlete, good physique is to be presumed for the vast majority. There are, however, lurking dangers; experience showed the two chief of them to be latent tuberculosis on the physical side and family history on the psychological side. Much thought was given to improving the form and content of the medical certificate, but it is very difficult to devise a kind which is not either too elaborate and fussy or too sketchy and uninformative. Towards the end of my time the University and the Colleges had taken the initiative with regard to that insidious threat to youth, tuberculosis; systematic radiography has done much to circumvent this ambushed assassin, but it had not come to the rescue in some of the early, distressing cases which troubled my slumbers. As for the elusive factors which contribute to nervous or mental instability, it does not seem possible to devise a prophylactic without inquisitorial methods which would be both impracticable and unseemly.

* * *

Apart from actual illness, a certain lowness of spirits is not uncommon, and perhaps not very damaging, among Rhodes

Scholars in their first contact with Oxford. They arrive when the English winter is approaching and their first Michaelmas Term may be a penance of shivering endurance. I am convinced —though as a mere layman I have no right to be dogmatic—that some of those who come from sunny countries, especially South Africans, suffer at first from sheer physical deprivation of the ultra-violet rays to which they are accustomed. The antidote, no doubt, is vigorous exercise, but not all Rhodes Scholars can row or play Rugby. There are sometimes other and unexpected physical discomforts. I remember one Rhodes Scholar who had been accustomed, like Kingsley Fairbridge himself, to long excursions on the veldt, with no company but himself and a gun. In Oxford he suffered from a positive claustrophobia. England was a kind of prison to him. So it remained until one vacation when I induced him to ramble at large on Dartmoor and Exmoor. He then realized that even a small island has its wide-open spaces, and thereafter he seemed to be a changed man. He was enthusiastic about Oxford before he left it and is now a valued and responsible officer in the Colonial Service.

Even English diet may be a trial both to the flesh and to the spirit. It was certainly so in the lean, strictly-rationed period after the second war. I do not think that health suffered perceptibly from short commons, but many Rhodes Scholars with lusty youthful appetites would have gone perpetually hungry but for the parcels which they received from home. Even in times of comparative plenty, American young men tend to complain of the inadequacy of milk supply. I could never persuade them that the Demon Milk is the great national vice of the United States, tending to turn strong men into human cheeses; they replied, not without point, that, on the showing of international contests, milk seemed to be food not only for babes but for some singularly good athletes! It is said that on one occasion some American Rhodes Scholars, well schooled in principles of nutrition, complained to an eminent Head of a House (now deceased) that the College regimen did not contain the proper proportion of calories and carbohydrates. The Head was a philosopher, not

a dietician, and he made the shocking reply: 'God preserve us all from a balanced diet!' It is, of course, an established undergraduate convention that no College food is fit for human consumption; but, all allowances made for this ancient superstition, newcomers from lands of plenty do genuinely find sometimes that British institutional cooking does not elate them. They cannot even be persuaded that the sodden brussels sprouts which inspire their implacable scorn really do contain more vitamins than the doughnuts for which they crave. Most of them, however, soon become corrupted by afternoon tea, with its 'filling' qualities, though perhaps only as an escape from British coffee.

These physical impacts, though not unimportant, are trivial beside the larger question of the general effect of Oxford on the minds, characters and temperaments of Rhodes Scholars. The Trustees and their officers have always recognized that adaptation to Oxford is in itself a test, and sometimes a severe test, of the real stuff of a Rhodes Scholar. Those who have not received their education and their formative influences in other countries can scarcely realize how bewilderingly different Oxford is from anything which the average Rhodes Scholar has ever known. The process of adjustment is usually slow and sometimes painful, and I never thought it a disadvantage that it was gradual. Some men come to Oxford with romantic ideas, expecting to find an earthly paradise, physical and intellectual. I was always a little sceptical about them, lest their first fine rapture should yield—as it sometimes did—to a certain measure of disillusionment. On the other hand, it never troubled me greatly when a man was somewhat 'lost', homesick and even unhappy at first. If he was going to absorb any of the essential Oxford, it was better, for the most part, that he should find it by trial and error, and in his own way. Sometimes he never did. There were a few Rhodes Scholars in my time who remained impervious and never settled down. Some—I think most—of these were men who did not get on well at Oxford because, being of difficult temperament, they did not get on well anywhere; a few were men of so parochial an outlook that their minds were indehiscent to any new

impressions; and some were good and promising men who, without fault on either side, were unable to find at Oxford the kind of work which they wanted and were qualified to do—for Oxford, with all its wide range of studies, does not profess to supply everything, 'from a needle to an anchor', from the department store of learning. These different types, together with a few who, from time to time, were compelled to cut short their stay at Oxford for personal and family reasons, were only a tiny fraction of the whole body; and some of them, if they had had more patience, would have changed their point of view in time. The fact that they did not possess that patience and were not prepared to cultivate it (as the majority did), showed them to be so much the less fitted to be Rhodes Scholars.

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I do not agree with the popular view of Oxford as temperamentally conservative. On the contrary, it is, like so many venerable English institutions, remarkable for its capacity for self-adaptation to changing circumstances, and in my forty years of residence in it I have seen profound transformations in its whole way of life. Its 'lost causes' are for the most part picturesque hobbies, and new causes are born in it every minute—many of them not very viable, but interesting infants all the same. Yet, to the Man from Snowy River or Main Street or Dorpsburg—the eager young man who has been a considerable person in his own sphere and is now a mere 'freshman', very much on probation in Oxford—some of its sedate, old-fashioned ways are puzzling and irksome. The criticisms which spring to any keen young mind are by no means all unjustified. If he has any sense of proportion, however—and above all, if he has any sense of humour (which few Rhodes Scholars lack)—the neophyte will soon perceive that these minor anomalies (as they seem to him) are as dust in the balance against the 'imponderables' which he can absorb if his spirit is willing. The vast majority of Rhodes Scholars do this, and the effect is cumulative. By the end of their time, if they were given power

to rationalize Oxford—to extirpate prowling Proctors and midnight curfew and fanged bottles on College walls and white ties and subfusc and decanal discipline—they would probably be more royalist than the king! The 'imponderables' are different for different men—no two, I imagine, would define them in the same way, if they could define them at all. But there are several benefits, quite apart from academic equipment, which Oxford can impart to all intelligent and questing young men, of whatever type or nationality. One is tolerance. I do not think there are many places in the world where opinion is so unfettered as in Oxford; and with this freedom goes, for the right-minded, the like freedom for others. In days of the mass-regimentation of opinion, this lesson is, or should be, a master-precept for the young. Another influence of Oxford which none but the very dull or unimpressionable can escape is its multifarious intellectual vitality. I do not think that this has ever been at a higher pitch than at present. It is a wonderful thing to have seen this ancient body twice spring to 'life more abundant' when wars had left it for dead, or at least half-dead; never was there more eloquent testimony that the indestructibility of matter is nothing to the indestructibility of mind. There is scarcely a taste or interest or pursuit which cannot find at Oxford soil to grow in; and the problem for many undergraduates is to choose wisely among the diversity of opportunities. They are seasoned, as they should be, with a due modicum of frivolity, to the end that wisdom be not always a sombre bird which only glares and hoots, but sometimes a flutterer of lighter note and gayer plumage.

In its academic fare, Oxford has one *spécialité de la maison* which I think is extremely nutritious diet for most Rhodes Scholars. I do not know of any place where the use of the English language is more sedulously disciplined than at Oxford. Looseness, verbosity or vulgarity of expression are of all things anathema, and it is, or ought to be, an axiom of tutorial instruction that bad style is bad thinking. Now, it is no disrespect—for I write as a 'Colonial'—to say that in most other parts of the English-speaking world this aspect of education is not specially

emphasized. Many Rhodes Scholars at first find their tutors rather niggling and fussy critics, but they soon learn that what is in question is not mere minutiae of form but coherence of thought; and, if they take nothing else from Oxford, they will be in her debt if they have learned to weigh their words before committing them to speech or paper.

The tutorial system is, of course, Oxford's *forte*. Most Rhodes Scholars take to it kindly and believe in it. But it is not without its imperfections. All tutors are not equally good at tuition. Among the large number of College instructors it is obvious that there must be some who, whatever their ability, do not possess the gift of imparting their knowledge; and the best teachers are not necessarily to be found (as is so often supposed) in the most famous Colleges. There is also the subtle and incalculable factor of personal compatibility between teacher and taught. Not a few Rhodes Scholars found themselves in tutorial difficulties of various kinds. It was an article of the unwritten code, which was seldom broken, that a Rhodes Scholar should not complain to me of his tutor; and, conversely, it was part of my code that such complaints, on the rare occasions when they occurred, were received 'with reserve', as diplomats say. But from time to time it became obvious to me that a Rhodes Scholar was not getting on well with his tutor and that the fault was by no means all on one side. This was a delicate situation. It was perilous to interfere, or even give the appearance of doing so, in College tutorial arrangements. However, in several instances when the situation was acute, I took my courage in my hands and found that the Colleges concerned were sympathetic and ready to make tactful rearrangements which generally solved the problem. What is true of tutors also applies to the supervisors of research students. They differ greatly in competence and assiduity, and their appointment by Boards of Faculties sometimes seems to be rather haphazard. In this matter one was helpless and could only hope that the difficulty would solve itself by mutual consent to a change of supervisor. I have no doubt that the tutorial system is of immense benefit to most Rhodes Scholars, and I have heard

many testimonies from them to its lasting value. Similarly, frequent personal contact with a supervisor who is a master of his subject may open up new worlds to a receptive research student. But I have sometimes felt that Oxford is a little too complacent about the invariable efficacy of its teaching methods, and I have known a certain number of Rhodes Scholars who have had to manage, and have managed well, with little help from their instructors. As for lectures, I have known few men who have regarded them as the most beneficial part of their Oxford education.

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Before the second war—the situation changed for a time after it—the Rhodes Scholar was nearly always older than the English undergraduate. He was more mature in experience and worldly wisdom, though often I found him very ready to acknowledge that scholastically he was immature by comparison with the ablest type of youngster from a good English school. Greater maturity in years and worldly wisdom tends to set the Rhodes Scholar a little apart from his English fellow-students and to drive him into the company of his own coevals and compatriots. Wylie has recorded that this tendency caused him some concern in early days, and I also regarded it with a little anxiety, but it diminished appreciably as time went on. Whether or not a Rhodes Scholar's comparatively advanced years affected his status depended to some extent on the attitude of his College. When I first went to Rhodes House there were one or two Colleges where discipline was of the old school and where all undergraduates, including Rhodes Scholars, were treated like schoolboys. A grown man from overseas who is severely berated for some trivial offence, such as walking on the sacred College turf (and I have known this happen), cannot help resenting the humiliation. There were several cases (though I could do nothing about them, except appeal to the sinner's sense of humour) in which I felt that unfortunate methods had been used and that a good man had been quite unnecessarily

embittered, sometimes with lasting effect. Rhodes Scholars, I think, desire no special privileges on account of their maturity; they must conform to ordinary University and College rules, which, though they may seem strange at first, are soon found to be neither unreasonable nor oppressive; but Colleges of latter years have become accustomed to the presence in their midst of many senior men besides Rhodes Scholars and have long since realized (though most, of course, have always realized) that they are not to be treated like children.

Whether or not the Rhodes Scholar made real friends with his younger English fellow-student was so personal a matter that it defied any generalization. Men from distant lands are naturally anxious, while they have opportunity, to see Continental countries, and Rhodes Scholars were sometimes reproached by tutors with travelling too much, and too often, to the prejudice of the vacation study which is an indispensable part of the Oxford system. There was some truth in this, and I sometimes wished that Rhodes Scholars would see more of the surprising variety of the British Isles, but one could not but sympathize with the desire to see other civilizations and to learn other languages, especially in days when travel was cheap and currency restrictions unknown. A large number of Rhodes Scholars enjoyed hospitality in English homes through the good offices of the Dominions Fellowship Trust, which grew out of Lady Frances Ryder's organization in the first war and was latterly under the chief direction and wise administration of Miss Macdonald of Sleat, C.B.E. In this way many lasting friendships were formed for which a cloud of witnesses are most grateful to this admirable organization. In pre-war times some Rhodes Scholars perhaps were a little discomposed by the unaccustomed formality which they found in the well-provided English country house; but the second war introduced great changes in economics, in social customs and in understanding of different national types, and I think that both hosts and guests found advantage in the less formal conditions which became general. The average Rhodes Scholar may have found it an amusing, and even an educational,

experience to be waited on by a butler (for Jeeves, if he still exists, can be as capable a mentor as a good Oxford College servant); but he would generally prefer to be himself an amateur butler-cum-housemaid-cum-scullery-maid in the family, as all of us have to be nowadays in our own or other people's houses. Besides these visits so skilfully and solicitously arranged, there were many by private invitation from fellow-undergraduates to their homes, and in the post-war years these seemed to increase, despite the difficulty of hospitality. I knew also of many Rhodes Scholars who made permanent friendships, sometimes leading to life partnership, among families with which they stayed in England or abroad. All this, needless to say (not even excluding the matrimony), was in accord with Mr. Rhodes's principles of international understanding.

* * *

When a Rhodes Scholar first comes to Oxford, he often has somewhat vague ideas about his course of study. The real meaning and actual working of the various Final Honour Schools at Oxford are not easily understood from books and official publications by a man thousands of miles away. Often he will not find his best course of study until he has come up and has been advised and diagnosed by his tutors. The result may be a regrettable loss of time. A Rhodes Scholar has only six, or at the most nine, academic terms before him, and it is a serious matter when any considerable part of them is occupied in preliminary skirmishing, or (as sometimes happens) by change from one subject to another. The responsibility for a Rhodes Scholar's instruction rests with his College, but the Warden of Rhodes House retains a general unofficial supervision, and no small or easy part of his duties is consultation with the College, and with the Scholar himself, about his appropriate choice of study. This applies even more forcibly to research students. Sometimes they come with projects which are either unacceptable or impracticable, or perhaps both. Sometimes, again, they may want accommodation in a department or laboratory which is already

overcrowded; this always had to be considered during the great influx which occurred after the second war. I made it my object, though not always with success, to ensure that every Rhodes Scholar who proposed research, especially in the natural sciences, obtained advice long before he came up, from his College and from the experts in his subject, about its practicability. Even with this preliminary negotiation, it is not always easy to get started on a research project without a good deal of experimental investigation—indeed, that is almost always necessary before the real substance of the study becomes crystallized. These preliminaries are sometimes unduly protracted, for in a thesis, as in all other forms of composition, *c'est le premier mot qui coûte*; and it always distressed me when, as sometimes happened, a Rhodes Scholar left his research unfinished for lack of time, which is often the equivalent of lack of system. There was generally a pious resolution to come back and finish the work later, and this was often done, but equally often supervening circumstances made it impossible. This relativity of time in research is a constant problem, and it is difficult to say in any individual case whether delay and incompleteness are due to the man himself (as I think is generally the fact), or to his subject, or to his supervision. I never found any solution, though I often ventured to warn the perfectionist against the dangers of contemplating rather than tackling his task and thus becoming unpregnant of his cause.

Research in general became an increasingly important aspect of the Rhodes Scholarships. Wylie has described the establishment of the D.Phil. degree in 1919, and the controversy which accompanied it. More and more Rhodes Scholars, especially from the United States, desired to qualify as Advanced Students for the D.Phil.; some, less ambitious, aimed no higher than the B.Litt. or B.Sc., or, in recent years, the B.Phil., but it was the D.Phil. which was most sought after. There was a double reason for this. First, many Rhodes Scholars, already possessing academic degrees in their own countries, were averse from taking a Final Honour School which led only to another B.A., and which they supposed (often quite wrongly) was merely repetition of

work which they had already done. A more utilitarian motive was, and is, that for most university appointments in North America a doctorate is virtually indispensable, and Rhodes Scholars who intended an academic career naturally wished to leave Oxford with this qualification (irreverently known as the 'union card' or 'meal ticket') instead of returning to the prospect of another preliminary year or two spent in obtaining it, at an advanced age, at home. This may not seem the purest ideal of learning, but one could not deny that it was eminently reasonable.

It was to me—and I dare say it always will be—a thorny question whether the best Oxford education for a Rhodes Scholar was a post-graduate degree or a Final Honour School. There are some Rhodes Scholars who are so clearly advanced and qualified in their special subjects that it would be foolish to condemn them to undergraduate work, and throughout my time the proportion of such students increased. Much extremely able and profitable work has been done by Rhodes Scholars for research degrees and some of it has fructified in published scholarship of a high order. There were others, with less solid grounding, whose ambitions outran their capacity, and who, as it seemed to me, would gain most by the discipline of the tutorial system; but it was often difficult to persuade them of this, and one had to let them learn it by personal and sometimes chastening experience of the high Oxford standards—and by then, unfortunately, precious time had been lost and perhaps discouragement had supervened. It will hardly be denied that, on the whole, Oxford's special strength lies more in its tutorial system than in its supervision of research, far-ranging and erudite (if variable) though the latter may be. The man who is living in College and working under a good tutor is much more likely than the specialist to get the characteristic flavour of Oxford and to swim with the main current of its life. Probably the most highly-developed research technique of Oxford is to be found in the natural sciences, where it is, indeed, an integral part of training; but even here there is a danger that a Rhodes Scholar may become so much tied to his laboratory that he is alienated from the more miscellaneous, but

decidedly educative, activities of undergraduate life. (I do not say that this necessarily happens—many times, to my knowledge, it has not happened; I merely say that it is a danger to be reckoned with.) In this competition of alternatives the choice was often perplexing; I could not, of course, advise when there were at issue technical questions beyond my competence; nevertheless, I will presumptuously say, even if I incur reproach, that I sometimes backed my own judgment against that of the College, the tutor or even the faculty, and not seldom I proved right. But with the experts, of course, lay the decision, and they were often divided among themselves. Some were inflexible adherents of the Final Honour Schools in nearly all cases; others seemed to me to tend to push Rhodes Scholars into advanced work on insufficient evidence. The faculties, again, varied greatly in the qualifications which they required for admission to research. This, I think, was increasingly realized, and towards the end of my time there was a growing tendency to follow the example of the Final Honour School of English Language and Literature and to require applicants to pass qualifying tests before admission to advanced work. Some filter of this kind has been made necessary by the constantly swelling number of aspirants to post-graduate degrees. One other aspect of this matter must be mentioned in candour—namely, that the standard for these degrees varies with different subjects. It is notoriously more difficult to obtain a D.Phil. in some faculties than in others. The same may apply to First Classes in different Final Honour Schools, though not, I think, to anything like the same degree.

Whatever the problems surrounding this question of research, post-graduate work attracts an increasing proportion of Rhodes Scholars. The number grew apace after the second war. I find that during the years 1947 to 1953 the percentage of Rhodes Scholars reading for research degrees was between 30 and 41. In 1948-49 it was 40 per cent., in the following year 41 and in the last statistical year which I have taken (1952-53) it is again 40 (65 research students out of 163 in residence). A striking fact is that out of these advanced students an average of 48 per cent., or nearly

a half, are engaged in one or other of the natural sciences. This is a vast change from Sir Francis Wylie's day, and is another evidence of the prodigious scientific development of Oxford within a generation.

* * *

I turn to the subjects of study in the Final Honour Schools. In general, it may be said that there is not one of them which Rhodes Scholars have not taken at one time or another, and this does not exclude esoteric subjects like Arabic and Chinese in the School of Oriental Studies. Wylie has narrated how in early days the preponderance was in Law. I fully endorse what he has said about the influence of Rhodes Scholars in stimulating the expansion of legal studies in Oxford. The Faculty of Law is now very different from what it was even in 1919, when I first attempted to teach Law, and when there were still comparatively few Law Fellows in the Colleges. Possibly the growth of the subject and the increase of teachers were a natural evolution which would have happened in any case, but the needs of Rhodes Scholars hastened the process, though by 1931 there was certainly no further suggestion of the Rhodes Trustees specially endowing legal learning. There was always one feature of Jurisprudence and the B.C.L. which particularly affected Rhodes Scholars and which I think Wylie has not mentioned, though it was well known to him. These disciplines at Oxford lay considerable stress on Roman Law and require a knowledge of Latin texts. Latin, regrettably, is a sad deficiency in the education of many Rhodes Scholars, and Roman Law is a formidable undertaking for them, nor is it always easy to persuade them that it is a salutary mental exercise. Most of them outfaced the giant, if they did not actually slay him with their exiguous pebbles; and I have known some who, not knowing more Latin than *mensa* and *amo* when they came to Oxford, performed notable feats of valour (or was it low cunning?) against Gaius and Justinian. When I think of some of the earliest Rhodes Scholars who, in this penury of classical training, had somehow to acquire Greek for Respon-

sions and Latin for Jurisprudence, I marvel at their audacity no less than at their agility. Perhaps they said to themselves that if Shakespeare could write his plays with small Latin and less Greek, a Rhodes Scholar could defeat the Oxford examiners with even less; and that is the spirit which Cecil Rhodes, the disciple of Aristotle and the student of the Emperors, would doubtless have approved. I remember a distinguished jurist, when a member of his seminar who had been assigned a task demurred that he could not do it because he knew no German, remarking quietly: 'You will kindly know some by our first meeting next term'. That is Oxford; that is any good University.

As will appear, a large proportion of Rhodes Scholars have followed the profession of the law, many with conspicuous success; but the suzerainty of law among their subjects of study at Oxford has declined in favour of the modern school of Philosophy, Politics and Economics, or 'Modern Greats'. In the recent six-year period which I have mentioned (1947 to 1953) there have always been more men reading P.P.E. than Jurisprudence and B.C.L. (taken together), and the gap seems to be widening. No other School claims anything like so many, though the natural sciences and English come within hailing distance. I observed among Rhodes Scholars, even before the war, a very marked growth of interest in social studies, economics and international relations. This applies particularly to American Rhodes Scholars. In my first years most of them seemed to regard national politics and foreign relations with a certain detachment, content on the whole with the law of nature

That every boy and every gal
That's born into the world alive

is either a little Republican or else a little Democrat. The Roosevelt Revolution produced an unmistakable change. Thereafter every intelligent young American, as represented by the Rhodes Scholars, was re-thinking the traditional ideas, and there was an intellectual ferment about many national and international questions which had formerly been taken for granted. All this,

needless to say, was much intensified by the second war and by the changed international role of the United States. Naturally, then, many inquiring minds turned to social studies at Oxford, either in research or in the School of P.P.E. In nothing was the New Look more manifest than in Economics, in which a succession of Rhodes Scholars have done first-rate work. There have been a few pioneers in the new School of Physiology, Psychology and Philosophy, and they will probably grow in number. For those few who hanker after the controversial science of Sociology Oxford does not cater.

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It was under the 1929 Act that the new generation of German Rhodes Scholars came to Oxford, at the rate of two annually, instead of the five per year provided for in Mr. Rhodes's Will. Eighteen were elected between 1930 and 1939. Under a totalitarian régime it is difficult to keep any organization uninfluenced by all-pervading power, and there were disquieting hints from time to time of insidious attempts upon the independence of the Selection Committee. It was obvious, for example, to anybody who had to deal with him, that the then German Ambassador, Ribbentrop, looked with little favour on a group of young men who were not avowed missionaries of Nazism. In those circumstances it was greatly to the credit of the Selection Committee in Berlin that, so far as was possible in the Germany of that period, it maintained its independence of judgment and elected on merit alone. This was due not only to the courageous spirit of the old Rhodes Scholars who constituted the Committee but, I doubt not, to the influence of its wise and venerable chairman, Dr. Schmidt-Ott. I attended one of its sessions in 1932 and was much impressed by the judicious and painstaking spirit of its methods.

If the dictatorship ever hoped to Nazify the Rhodes Scholarships, it certainly did not succeed. I do not think that any German Rhodes Scholar of the second dispensation was a convinced or militant Nazi. In the early days of the régime some were disposed

to defend what seemed to them, and indeed to some non-Germans, its possible merits and promise; but that was natural enough before the cloven hoof had fully shown itself. Others who had returned to Germany had no option but to fight for their country; four of them lost their lives in doing so and two fell into our hands as prisoners of war, one of them being a distinguished tank general who was never thought of by his adversaries as a 'war criminal' but as a gallant and efficient professional soldier. As for the remainder, practically all were not merely unsympathetic to Hitlerism but definitely opposed to it. They were in a difficult position at Oxford; they had evidence that they were being jealously watched and probably spied upon by the authorities in Germany; it required considerable courage to maintain their attitude, and great discretion was necessary in their demeanour and opinions. I was never quite certain of what was going on behind the scenes, because I too had to exercise discretion and never cared—nor had I the right—to probe into matters which might have been embarrassing to them. I learned of the difficulties only when the men voluntarily sought my confidence. On several occasions I found that vague suggestions of Nazi sympathies or activities which were made against several men were quite groundless and irresponsible.

At all events, when war actually came, there was no doubt about those sympathies. Most of the Scholars who were in England or abroad refused to return to Germany to fight for a cause in which they did not believe. They suffered uncomplainingly the hardships of internment and the shafts of suspicion which they knew were inevitable, and eventually they were able to work, in not very attractive capacities, for the Allied cause. A number have adopted British nationality at the earliest opportunity. Several were in the United States at the outbreak of war and remained in that country; one of these acquired American nationality and fought with the United States forces, suffering a severe wound. Of the older scholars in Germany, two at least gave their lives for their anti-Nazi beliefs. Count Albrecht Bernstorff suffered horrible death for the convictions which he

had never disguised. It is now known that Adam von Trott zu Solz, while holding an official position in Germany, was for years working in secret and at the utmost peril for the downfall of Hitler and all his works; he was deeply involved in the abortive 'Bomb Plot' and paid the penalty for it by the Gestapo form of death. His young wife and family were also condemned to butchery and escaped only by a miracle. There is reason to think that other German Rhodes Scholars may have laboured covertly against the despotism, but it is impossible to verify all the facts. One of the early Rhodes Scholars who remained in his ministerial post under the Nazi Government was tried and convicted after the war by a Military Tribunal and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. No other was ever officially identified with Hitler's rule.

Among the visions of Cecil Rhodes, perhaps the boldest was that of a great tripartite bloc which might secure permanently the peace of the world. Was it daring to the point of mere fantasy? It might not have proved so if reason and not passion had prevailed; but the tragedy was that the jackboot twice trampled on the dream, which now lies in jagged fragments for posterity to sweep up. To that extent the Founder's ambitious aim has been frustrated; but so far as his individual German beneficiaries are concerned, I wholly agree with Wylie that Rhodes's hopes have not proved sterile.

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I make one last reference to topics broached by my predecessor. He has explained that the annual dinners are a specific part of Mr. Rhodes's benefaction and that they suffered somewhat in early days from lack of a settled milieu. This they found as soon as Rhodes House was a 'going concern'. Before long ladies who (as has been related) had been accustomed to sit timidly in the gallery in a kind of *purdah*, became guests, thus tempering with grace and sedateness what had been a masculine monopoly of conviviality. Though they gained notably in this respect, the dinners continued for some time to suffer from the affliction of

all public dinners—superabundant oratory from a long list of distinguished guests. This came to a climax when an eminent public personage devoted ten minutes to explaining that he had been asked to speak for ten minutes and then went on to tell the story of his life until nearly midnight. Thereafter the Trustees decided that the occasion should be more domestic and less rhetorical. The custom for a good many years past has been to have only one speech from the presiding Trustee—of welcome to the Freshmen in the Michaelmas Term and of farewell and God-speed to those departing in the summer. For the rest, the dinner is a gathering of friends and brethren who are getting to know each other, and the guests include any old Rhodes Scholars who may be visiting England or who are resident in Oxford, together with representative Oxford people who are likely to show the Rhodes Scholars interest and friendship. This seems to be in accord with the Founder's intention in providing these repasts.

I have one evil memory of them. In the lean period after the second war it was exceedingly difficult to obtain either food or catering for any large number. I am still haunted in my dreams by some of the meals which at that time I had to offer the Trustees' guests. A brighter day came, to my immense relief, when it was possible to replace the dinner of herbs, if not with the stalled ox, at least with acceptable fare. And one comfort I always had. Soon after I came to Rhodes House the Trustees decided to lay down a cellar of their own wines in the ample accommodation which the building provided. Even in the dark days, therefore, whatever the solids, the liquids were good. They still are and I hope they always will be. Many of those pre-war wines still remain, and when I think of their cost then and now, I respectfully salute the foresight of the Trustees in making such a good investment. Never again shall we see the day when a hogshead of two-year-old vintage claret will cost, f.o.b. France, an average of 33s. 6d. per dozen !



DR. FRANK AYDELLOTTE
(Indiana and Brasenose, 1903)
American Secretary, 1918-1952
From the portrait by Edward Halliday
in Rhodes House



SIR JOHN BEHAN
(Victoria and Hertford, 1904)
Australian Secretary, 1922-1952



D. R. MICHENER
(Alberta and Hertford, 1919)
Canadian Secretary since 1936



A. H. Gif,
(South African College School
and University, 1916)
South African Secretary since 1946

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

FROM these general and rambling observations about the Rhodes Scholarships I turn to a brief chronology of events and developments between 1931 and 1952. Here I must confess my shortcomings. I have never kept a diary, nor have I my predecessor's unerring memory for people, things and places. I acknowledge gratefully the assistance and censorship of my wife, who has a far better memory for dates and details than I have. With these reservations I will try to record those happenings which stand out most clearly in my mind.

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The Secretary of the Trust in 1931 was Philip Kerr, who was soon to succeed to the title of Marquess of Lothian. We were to remain his colleagues for eight years, and it was a most stimulating experience. I have known few men who possessed, besides great charm of character and sympathy, a quicker grasp of essentials. His interests and responsibilities, outside the Rhodes Trust, multiplied as time went on, and for a short and uneasy period he held office in the 'Emergency' National Government as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and then as Under Secretary of State for India; but he was always accessible and he had the gift of concentrating into a few hours work which would have taken most people as many days. No concern was nearer to his heart than the Rhodes Scholarships, for he believed deeply in their international significance. The great landed estate which he inherited (not without embarrassment) included the beautiful house of Blickling in Norfolk, and there, either on Rhodes business or on holiday, we spent many delectable days which are among our most treasured memories. In any difficulty, official or personal, he was the most wise, sympathetic and candid

counsellor. The war brought him the greatest opportunity of his life and as Ambassador, at a most critical time in Anglo-American relations, he found full scope for his talents and his sagacity. In that great office, when he seemed to be in full vigour (we had seen him on the day when he set out on his last journey to America), he died suddenly and left my wife and myself, among countless others, with a sense of lasting bereavement. He was a man who combined a deep-seated idealism with a realistic and humorous understanding of human nature as it is. There are not many such.

He was succeeded by the present Secretary, Lord Elton, with whom we collaborated, in war and peace, until our departure. To spare his blushes, I will only say that I hope the association was as pleasant and harmonious to him as it was to us.

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By the year 1931 peace was piping a little less confidently than in the twenties. The League of Nations had shown its gaping fissures, the international outlook was unsettled and the economic blizzard, whistling round the world, had hit us with full force. It was problematical how it would affect the Universities in general and Rhodes Scholars in particular. There was a period of stringency and a campaign of national economy. The storm blew over and the worst apprehensions were falsified; I do not think that Rhodes Scholars of that period were greatly affected, beyond suffering the not very formidable degree of deprivation which was common to all. But there was another storm brewing, though many people in England and elsewhere refused to see it. From 1934 onwards the Hitler menace became unmistakable until it mounted to the climax of Munich in 1938. Calm was maintained, but the imminence of the threat took one very realistic form—the whole population of Oxford was issued with gas respirators and many citizens began to be trained in Air Raid Precautions, first aid and other 'emergency' measures. (Strange to reflect that the chief emphasis, at that time, was laid on poison gas, which, in the event, no belligerent used.) Mr. Chamberlain,

however, brought back 'peace with honour', and the menace seemed to pass—but not to the reassurance of anybody who had formed a true estimate of the policy and purposes of Adolf Hitler. In the Long Vacation of 1939 I exhorted all Rhodes Scholars who were going abroad to make for home at the first serious threat of trouble. (My family and myself got out of France only at the eleventh hour.) I think most of the Rhodes Scholars regarded me merely as a croaking raven. At all events, when war came they were scattered all over Europe, some of them as far as Russia and Finland. I will not recount the complications of getting them all back, in some instances only through the exertions of consuls and the good offices of neutral countries, but it was an intricate process until they were all accounted for. When the flock was assembled, it numbered eighty—a group with a highly unsettled prospect before it.

Wylie has described the uncertainties which existed at the outbreak of the first world war. They were even more acute in 1939, but there was a little more time to cope with them than in 1914. I dislike the term 'phoney war', for it is a cheap misrepresentation, but at all events the full impact of frightfulness was not felt in England in the early stages. The University of Oxford had at least a breathing-space to work out a policy, and it adopted one which proved far more beneficial than that of the preceding war. Throughout that earlier crisis the University practically suspended animation and was taken over almost entirely for war purposes. In 1939 it was decided that Oxford should, as far and as long as possible, continue to carry out its academic mission, combining it with many practical war activities. About half the Colleges were assigned to 'emergency' purposes, chiefly administrative and medical. In the other half of the buildings the undergraduates 'doubled up'. Except those specially exempt or reserved for one reason or another, all were conscripted and most were taking special courses, leading to 'war degrees', before going, in their turn, into one or other branch of national service. It was expected that during this interim they would take their studies somewhat lightly, but it

proved otherwise, and teaching and learning were taken seriously by nearly all, though tutorial resources were much depleted by the departure of many dons for active service or other kindred duties.

The policy proved to be highly successful. It is a remarkable achievement, on which Oxford may always congratulate itself, that throughout the war there were always between 1,500 and 2,000 undergraduates educating themselves while on the brink of life-and-death hazard. The vast amount of other and warlike work, especially in the sciences, which was done within the University does not belong to this story, but it is well known to have been of capital importance.

The physical threat, however, always hung overhead. Oxford could have been attacked with devastating effect, for in the early days it was almost defenceless and at no time would it have been able to withstand a concentrated assault. It was an industrial centre of some importance, and it was on the high road to the great war manufactories of the Midlands. Night after night the siren wailed and the upper air throbbed and hummed, not least on that brilliant moonlit night when Coventry was laid in ruins. Many bombs fell in the surrounding country, though with little damage. Nevertheless, the University and City of Oxford were spared, for reasons which will always be matter of speculation. The vulnerability of every building had to be considered carefully, and one of the first questions for the Trustees was, what was to happen to Rhodes House? There was some suggestion at first that it might be converted into a hospital, but it proved to be structurally unsuitable for that purpose. At one stage it was proposed to move all the books from the Library, but this measure was postponed—fortunately, as it turned out, for the Library proved to be of great utility to certain official departments temporarily in Oxford, and it was in constant use throughout the war. In the event, the building was not taken over by authority, and it assumed a curiously manifold character which presently I will try to describe.



Even more important was the question, what was to happen to the Rhodes Scholarships and Scholars? The Trustees refrained from any decision which might have proved precipitate, and their caution was justified by the sequel, for the matter was soon decided by the force of events. As I have mentioned, there were eighty Rhodes Scholars in residence when war broke out; by the end of the academic year in 1940 there were only seventeen. The great majority of the British Scholars had returned to their own countries or taken service in England. The Americans were in a difficult position. Their country was at that period neutral and the law governing them was strict, though for a time it was uncertain how rigorously it would be applied. The United States Government, however, soon made it clear that American nationals would remain in belligerent countries only at the peril of themselves and of their citizenship. So began the Book of Exodus, for Rhodes Scholars as for all their compatriots. On June 14, 1940, thirteen of those who remained had to leave Oxford, in no little haste, since the ship which was to carry them was, as the United States Government had announced, the last available to convey American nationals homewards. It sailed from Ireland and I shall not readily forget—nor will the Rhodes Scholars concerned—the arrangements for that sailing-party, which was nearly left on the shores of Eire to contemplate the Atlantic for the remainder of the war. I am sure that the *Mayflower* expedition was a masterpiece of staff work by comparison with the official administrative arrangements for the voyage of those Pilgrim Sons. However, they made their way back without mishap, though in extreme discomfort. We saw them off with heavy hearts, and they too were oppressed by their helplessness in the then situation; but I am happy to say that we saw not a few of them both during and after the war, and were even able to welcome some of them back to resume their studies when peace returned. A number of the men who returned to the United States in June 1940 were on the brink of taking their Final Examinations. The arrangements which

were made for them are described by Dr. Aydelotte. I doubt whether there is any similar incident in the history of Oxford examinations. The experiment worked quite smoothly and enabled this group of Rhodes Scholars to obtain Oxford degrees which otherwise war would have snatched from them.

Thereafter a few elections were made, for special reasons, in several of the smaller constituencies, but the Scholars dwindled until by 1942 there was only one in residence, and for all practical purposes the Scholarships were in suspense throughout the rest of the war. I cannot attempt here to give anything like an adequate account of the war service of Rhodes Scholars, beyond noting¹ some statistics of those who took part in one or both of the two world wars. I have compiled what I fear is a very incomplete record of some of the distinctions which they won, and for the rest I need only say that many of them reached high commands and discharged important responsibilities either in the field or on the multifarious administrative side of the war effort. Some undertook those astonishing feats of the secret services which beggar all fiction and which must remain, for the most part, sealed books. Of those who were unlucky enough to fall prisoners of war most survived, despite drastic experiences, with remarkably little permanent damage.

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There was another party to which we had to bid a sorrowful farewell. In June 1940 very generous invitations were received from the Universities of Yale and Swarthmore in the United States, and from Toronto in Canada, to receive and shelter a group of Oxford children and mothers. The arrangements were made by a committee at Rhodes House, and they had to be settled in haste and under certain difficulties which inevitably arose from back-and-forth communications at long range. Details would be tedious, but on July 8, 1940, a party of 125 Oxford children and twenty-five mothers set forth across the Atlantic, to be distributed to their different destinations and

¹ See p. 220.

temporary homes. This fine act of succour and benevolence would fall outside my theme were it not that former Rhodes Scholars had a large share in its inception and management, though there are many others to whom an equal debt is owed. Many of the children remained overseas and had their schooling throughout the whole war, establishing permanent ties with North America; a few have married and settled there. For their unstinted hospitality the foster-parents expected no return and deprecated any attempt to make it, but the Oxford parents, by forming a trust fund, despite every possible Treasury obstacle, were able after the war to make some small thank-offering by bringing American and Canadian students on visits to Oxford.

Besides this Youth Movement outwards there was another, and a memorable one, inwards. The dark day came, in September 1940, when the invasion of England was thought to be imminent and there was a shift of population from those districts which lay in the invader's probable path. A large number were transferred from Kent to Oxford and billeting provision for them had to be improvised by the local authority in the utmost haste. It may be imagined that it was not easily contrived in the already overcrowded conditions of Oxford. Some 'transit' depots were necessary until permanent arrangements could be made, and Rhodes House offered to serve as one of these. Over a hundred women and children, ranging in age from seventy-eight years to three weeks, found shelter there for ten days. They had been expected during the day, but they did not arrive until late on a black, streaming September night in 1940, after travelling from early morning with little food or warmth. I shall never forget the uncomplaining patience of young and old. Uprooted from their homes and hurriedly dispatched into the unknown, they cannot have been a happy band of pilgrims when at last Oxford greeted them with a relentless downpour, but they endured all with stoicism not unmixed with humour. They were all humble folk who asked nothing of life but to pursue unmolested their 'noiseless tenor', but one recognized in them

the spirit which, as much as feats of arms, made victory certain in the end.

There were no beds for them at Rhodes House, but a band of women workers, organized by my wife, had somehow assembled a collection of palliasses. Mattresses, however, are more difficult to make without straw than bricks, and in all Oxford there seemed to be no straw. It was procured, I forget how, at the last moment, and the Milner Hall, spread from end to end with these makeshift couches, became a dormitory for these 112 'displaced persons'. The Beit and Jameson Rooms were converted into refectory, living-room and Red Cross centre, and before long it almost seemed that 'a good time was had by all'—at all events, a communal life went on with no serious contretemps and few jars or jangles. For ten days children of all ages were running freely about the building, and when the party had gone not a ha'porth of damage had been done, not even to the sensitive oak panelling in which Rhodes House abounds. When the time came for departure to permanent billets throughout Oxford, there was a touching little ceremony. The mothers, none of them well off, collected a little sum of money to be given to an Oxford charity by way of thanks for shelter and care. The offering was made with a simple grace which struck me as one of the best examples of natural courtesy I have ever encountered.

The transients went their several ways, but one family of a mother and three daughters, two of them twins, found their billet unavailable, the landlady having died. They came in distress to Rhodes House and quarters were provided for them on the top floor of the Warden's house until they could find another billet, which they expected to do in a few days. They came for the week-end and stayed for five years! The towardly twins grew in beauty side by side, and when we last saw them one was a well-poised wife and mother and the other an accomplished and prosperous 'beautician'. This was a benefaction which I think Mr. Rhodes never contemplated.

These were not the only feminine guests of Mr. Rhodes. In September 1939 one of the Girls' High Schools in London was

evacuated to Oxford and absorbed into the High School there. Again arose the question of billeting. For the rest of the war four or five of these maidens in uniform lived with us at Rhodes House. They have remained our friends and we have followed their development from the raw material which they were then to the finished—in some cases highly finished—products which they are now. My wife was mother-in-chief to them all, and they were not, nor have they remained, ungrateful daughters. As for me, in twenty-one years I learned, I hope, something of the psychology of young men; but during the war I also learned enough of adolescent feminine psychology to qualify me to set up a clinic. I regard it as a most valuable part of my education. I could even, if put to it, write a novel about woman-in-the-making; but I will not be put to it at my time of life. My general conclusion, which I offer to all psychologists in case they have not thought of it for themselves, is that the female is by far the stronger sex.

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These are all trivial matters—hardly worth recording, it may be thought, in the vast chronicle of war—but I mention them to show the manner in which the building which the Trustees had dedicated to the service of Oxford was ministering, in its humble way, to war's manifold needs and duties. There was a more martial aspect of them. The Civil Defence service of Oxford grew rapidly and the large basement of Rhodes House offered a most appropriate place for one of its many branches. It was equipped and fortified by the local authority—to this day some of its 'temporary' baffle-walls remain—and became a post where the solid concrete overhead was much appreciated, though fortunately it was never put to the test of high explosive. Down in that catacomb many sleepless nights were spent and innumerable patrols, men and women, set forth on their rounds. Notwithstanding the spiteful precision of the siren in summoning one from bed as soon as one had got into it, those weary nights somehow do not seem unhappy in retrospect. There was a

comradeship among the wardens, and an unaffected democratic mixture of elements, which sprang from the spontaneous community of effort, and which are very pleasant to remember. Whatever may be going on in the welkin, you can conceive a great liking and respect for many different types of your fellow-creatures over a cup of tea and a cigarette at the dead of night. It was, by the way, tea and tobacco which won the war on the home front.

Rhodes House itself was vulnerable to incendiary attack and needed its own measures of protection. Of the few Rhodes Scholars who remained, nearly all were medical students or reserved scientists. It was arranged that a group of them should be lodged in the western wing of the building in the Hawksley Room, which was converted into a dormitory. Thus a permanent fire-guard of the young and active was provided. A static water-tank, with mobile pump, was constructed in the southern quadrangle, and the resident male fire-spotters were reinforced by a squad of young women from a neighbouring War Office department. They showed themselves in no way inferior to the men in scaling ladders and in Alpine exploits on the roof.

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The Milner Hall and the other public rooms were in constant demand—far more than could have been expected at the beginning—for all kinds of purposes connected with the war effort, not least Red Cross training. The enthusiastic volunteers bandaged, splinted, shocked and resuscitated each other until the Milner Hall presented a scene of havoc which few casualty wards could match. It was not long before even more realistic victims of war appeared. They were principally the survivors of Dunkirk, some of whom were in hospital at Oxford. From June to September 1940 parties of them came daily to Rhodes House—weekly from October onwards—to enjoy a change from hospital atmosphere and to bask, read, play games or just relax on the lawns and in the public rooms. At that time the New Theatre was presenting twice-nightly variety performances, and the

artists, responding readily to the good offices of the General Manager of the theatre, Mr. Stanley Dorrill, M.B.E., were most generous (as their profession always is) in coming repeatedly to entertain the soldiers in the Beit Room. Many of those afternoons in the summer of 1940 were sunlit and tranquil, except for the aircraft constantly circling overhead, and we like to think that the men of Dunkirk found in an Oxford garden some soothing contrast to the dreadful ordeal which they had survived only by a miracle.

There were many Canadian troops in England, and we know now what neither they nor we could be told then—that they were, except for the Home Guard, virtually our only defence against invasion. Their temporary inactive role, however, was irksome and disappointing to them and many efforts were made to mitigate its tedium. Oxford was for them, as for all overseas visitors, one of the 'objects of interest', and for the greater part of 1940 and 1941 a party of about a hundred Canadian servicemen came by road every Sunday to Rhodes House, where they were fed and then shown something of Oxford by a contingent of volunteer guides. Commissariat was not always easy. It was amply provided by the Canadian Army, but occasionally the rations went astray en route. At least twice it was necessary to improvise from store a meal for a hundred hungry men. I have never understood how this was done, but done it was. Underdone would perhaps be a better word for the vast joints of raw meat which, on another occasion, arrived at about 12.30 p.m. for the men's Sunday dinner at 1.0 p.m. These little 'technical hitches' added to gaiety and were, needless to say, amply compensated later. From our own authorities of the Ministry of Food we never succeeded in extracting any special ration allowance for the constant entertainment which was our pleasure as well as our duty during the war.

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These experiments developed on a larger scale. In July 1942 an informal committee of which Professor A. L. Goodhart (now

Master of University College), Captain (now Professor) H. G. Hanbury and my wife were the moving spirits, felt that the time was ripe for a more extensive organization of hospitality, and arrangements were made with the Canadian military authorities for regular leave-courses. Parties of about fifty Canadians came to Oxford each week, staying in Colleges and joining in sightseeing, excursions, 'Brains Trust' discussions and social engagements, one of which was a dance at Rhodes House each Tuesday. By this time there were many American troops in, or passing through, England and dances at Rhodes House were provided for them also. The Trustees also financed an Information Bureau in the city for the benefit of all troops, and especially Americans, until a centre of the American Red Cross was established at the Clarendon Hotel. There was also in the country an increasing number of representatives of our European allies, especially Poles, and in the autumn of 1942 there began at Rhodes House a regular series of dances for Polish officers and other ranks. Many of these, we found, had escaped from prison camps and made the most extraordinary journeys round the world before reaching England. Their stories of sufferings, perils and escapes were beyond any imaginings of fiction.

All these efforts were entirely voluntary and unofficial, but by August 1943 it was felt that an organization more representative of the University was overdue. The then Master of Balliol, the late Lord Lindsay of Birker, took the lead; a committee was formed, Balliol College generously offered itself as residence and headquarters for the courses, and the services of Mr. Giles Alington (now Fellow and Dean of University College) were obtained as general director of the scheme. From this date until the end of the war the 'Balliol courses' were a flourishing concern. Each week a party of some eighty honorary Oxonians came into residence for hospitality blended of the cultural and the social. They were selected, on their own applications, from various Allied forces in England—American, British Commonwealth and a few Continental; they were of both sexes and colours and they ranged in rank from generals to private soldiers. There was

scarcely any flavour of military discipline; all met on an equal footing as guests and friends; and these eyes have seen what I think must be a unique spectacle—a British general lacing up the shoes of a Canadian private, without the smallest embarrassment on either side. A series of lectures and discussions on current topics was provided by members of the University, and spontaneous interchanges of 'viewpoints' went on perpetually between individuals and groups. These were completely frank and uninhibited, but good-humoured, and I am sure that they conducted to more international understanding than many more august conclaves. On the whole, this experiment was a great success and has been remembered ever since with appreciation by those who shared in it. Rhodes House was its ally in any services it could render, and one of the standing social engagements was the Tuesday dance, for 200 or more, in the Milner Hall. The popular tunes of the time which I heard so often are engraved on the tablets of my heart. They are dead long since, for dance tunes have but a short time to live; but now and then one rises from its grave—and back I go to 1943 and to those strange slouches and gyrations which in this age go by the name of dancing. The portrait of Cecil Rhodes looked on them with apparently unruffled composure. Rhodes House was one of the few places in Oxford which at that time could boast a dance floor; and it had another modern convenience which was extremely popular—namely, its seven bathrooms. There was always a queue, of all ranks, for these, and Rhodes House did its best, in the hallowed phrase, to 'keep the party clean'.

handful the ordinary conditions of election held good, but for the service-men a number of concessions were necessary. The age limit was extended for them in proportion to the years of service, and there proved to be no anomaly in this, for the whole undergraduate population was more elderly than pre-war generations. The crucial question was, bachelors or husbands? Wylie has told how, after the first war, the Trustees did not feel able to relax their condition of celibacy. Different conditions, however, prevailed after the second war, and it was felt that to exclude young married men might have turned away a number of promising candidates; and so it proved.

The honourable estate of matrimony was therefore permitted to ex-service candidates, but two problems remained. A Rhodes Scholar could not support a wife and family on his Scholarship stipend; and the Trustees could not possibly undertake to find married quarters in the Oxford lodgings which were already full to bursting. Every married Rhodes Scholar was therefore required to give undertakings, first, that he had adequate means in addition to his Scholarship emoluments, and, second, that before coming to Oxford he had negotiated for a dwelling-place. The first condition was largely fulfilled by war gratuities and 'G.I. grants'; the second condition was not always honoured in the observance, as my wife found to her cost, though often to her amusement. The quest for lodgings was endless and complicated, and my wife became the chief amateur house and land agent in the district. Somehow the growing number of family men found roofs to their heads, though sometimes not much more than roofs. In 1945 nearly half the small group of Rhodes Scholars were married, in 1946 a third; with the full influx of 1947 came seventy-one wives, and in 1948 the maximum was reached with eighty-four. I could never quite keep count of the offspring, though I calculated once that they were arriving at the rate of 1·5 per month. Certainly there were over fifty children 'in residence'. The married régime lasted until 1950, when the normal conditions of election were reimposed, but when we



THE RECIPIENTS OF HONORARY DEGREES
AT THE REUNION ENCAENIA, 1953

From left to right Professor Wilder G Penfield, O M (New Jersey and Merton, 1914), Lieutenant-General Sir Edmund Herring, K C M G, K B E, D S O (Victoria and New College, 1912), Senator J W Fulbright (Arkansas and Pembroke, 1925), Sir Maurice Bowra, Vice-Chancellor ; Mr. Justice A van de Sandt Centlivres (South African College School and New College, 1907), Chief Justice of South Africa, Professor F C J M Barbeau (Quebec and Oriel, 1907)



CONFERMENT OF ORDINARY DEGREES, REUNION, 1953

Bowing to the Vice-Chancellor

departed in 1951 there were still a dozen married couples representing a remarkable phase in the Rhodes Scholarships.

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Remarkable it was, and memorable. In ordinary conditions I should respectfully concur in what has always been the view of the Trustees—that a Rhodes Scholar could not derive the full benefit from Oxford if he had to add domestic to academic burdens. But the conditions of Oxford after the second war were not ordinary. There were a great many married undergraduates besides Rhodes Scholars. Somehow, they had to contrive to live not merely a double but a manifold life, with its elements of work, play, College and University corporate interests, on top of domestic ties and cares. For some husbands the task proved excessive and their Oxford experience ended in frustration or breakdown, but these casualties were far fewer than might have been expected and there were none of a serious kind among Rhodes Scholars. Some, indeed, had a stiff battle to fight and a few, between the claims of families and laboratories, were too much thrown in on themselves and their work to acquire much of the essential Oxford. Even these few, however, were mostly of introverted disposition, and I am not sure that their experience would have been very different if they had been unmarried. Several were handicapped by one of matrimony's chief hostages to fortune, the illness of wife or children. But on the whole it could not be said that the majority of married Rhodes Scholars suffered any disadvantage at Oxford, and among them there were some highly creditable all-round performances in work, sport and undergraduate leadership. One of the most versatile was that of a New Zealand Rhodes Scholar who ended his time at Oxford with a First Class, a doctorate, a considerable reputation as an acrobat—and five daughters under seven years of age! Another Rhodes Scholar from the same country achieved a First in Greats, a Rugby Blue, a Fellowship and three offspring.

In many instances the partnership, far from being an impediment, was a support and a stimulus. The wives had their own

problems, coming as they did to wholly unaccustomed conditions in a country slowly emerging from wartime restrictions. Domestic affairs, generally in cramped and improvised surroundings, needed resource, resolution and, above all, good humour, which few of them failed to maintain. Their testing time was the 1946-47 winter, of evil memory, when every malignancy of climate was accompanied by an acute shortage of fuel. Life for women and young children in Oxford's gelid lodgings was a perpetual struggle to keep the blood circulating, and it was no light affliction for those who came from genial climates or from the air-conditioned houses of North America. One did not hear many lamentations, but one did hear much laughter over interchange of ingenious devices for keeping the non-existent home fires burning. In default of them, it was a daily spectacle to see young husbands bringing armfuls of infantile laundry to be dried at Rhodes House. There is, after all, a certain wry humour in the invincible conviction of British architects, builders and plumbers that pipe-cracking frosts, which happen with well-known regularity, never happen in England at all. There were hardships for everybody, in this and many other minor ways, but it is written that it is well to bear the yoke in one's youth, and the general spirit was to laugh off the inconveniences as just another of Oxford's oddities.

The wives formed a Rhodes sorority of their own and their headquarters were at Rhodes House. There they congregated every week (with their offspring lying, crawling or toddling at large) over tea and talk, my wife presiding. I was, of course, not admitted to these sessions, nor would I have dared to interrupt into them, but I know that they formed a rallying-point where many lasting friendships were made, many matters of common interest (doubtless including husbands) were discussed and clarified, many problems of child guidance were debated and, I think, many agreeable memories garnered. One of the brightest of these was the great academic occasion in November 1947, when General Marshall, *auctoritate totius Universitatis* and in the presence of many of the 'highest in the land', received an honorary degree and

spoke eloquently to a crowded Sheldonian Theatre. After the ceremony the General, together with the Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee), Mr. (now Sir) Anthony Eden and many others, was entertained at Rhodes House and met, with great friendliness and charm, the American Rhodes Scholars and their wives.

The Rhodes Scholarships of that exceptional period lost nothing and gained much by the admixture of a feminine element which only a short time before would have seemed almost inconceivable; and it is my hope and belief that most of those gallant young women remain unofficial members of the University of Oxford and will not be without influence in their own countries in understanding and sustaining the 'great idea'. Many of them have confessed a secret ambition that their sons will grow to the stature of Rhodes Scholars, and I shall be surprised if the future does not see some of those wishes fulfilled.

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Except that they were somewhat older and, in the main, had passed through the fiery furnace of war—the effects of which on character and outlook are infinitely variable—the post-war generation of Rhodes Scholars did not seem to differ materially from their predecessors. Their greater maturity did not prevent most of them from being undergraduates as Oxford understands that term. Their careers having been interrupted, and their ambitions postponed, by six years of war, they were earnest of purpose and under some sense of urgency in their work; but this was true of the whole University, and it did not prevent them from plucking flowers in lightness of heart as well as delving the soil in sweat of the brow. Academic performance showed no falling-off; in 1947-48, when 211 were in residence, thirteen First Classes were won in Final Honour Schools—the highest number at that time in the history of the Rhodes Scholarships. In the other years the average of six or seven was the same as in pre-war times. There was a high proportion of Second Classes. These Schools classes are to-day somewhat misleading because of the large percentage, to which I have referred, of Rhodes Scholars

working for post-graduate degrees, in which no classes are awarded.

Athletic successes were maintained at rather more than the pre-war standard. Between 1930 and 1938 the average annual number of Blues and half-Blues won by Rhodes Scholars was thirty-four, the peak year being 1931-32 with forty-six. From 1946 to 1951 the average was thirty-seven, and the highest point was reached in 1949-50, when forty-two Blues and half-Blues and seven double Blues were awarded to Rhodes Scholars. Conjugal life does not seem to have impaired prowess in the field, for many of these distinctions were won by married men. Rugby football and cricket were repeatedly captained by Rhodes Scholars, not to mention the games in which transatlantic athletes excel, such as ice hockey, lacrosse and basketball. Five Rhodes Scholars (four South Africans and one Australian) were awarded international caps for Rugby football.

In short, there was no lack of vitality in any direction among these postnati. Wylie has recorded the opinion of one shrewd and experienced observer that after the first war the Rhodes Scholars played no little part in the renaissance of Oxford. I believe that the same can be said of their role in the second avatar, different though the circumstances were. In work, in games and in their status in College life, married or single, they acquitted themselves well and vigorously. Only one other crisis threatened them before my term of office ended. When war broke out in Korea in 1949 and the United States introduced conscription, it was doubtful for a while whether Rhodes Scholars would be allowed to go abroad for academic studies. Fortunately, but not without some strenuous negotiation on the part of the American Secretary, the necessary exemptions were obtained and none were prevented from coming to Oxford, though many had to return from it to national service.

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So ends this imperfect chronicle of twenty-one years spent in the service of the great idea. Now they are 'recollected in

'tranquillity', like the emotion of poetry—though, happily, they were not all emotion, nor, indeed, were they all poetry! Apart from routine duties of administration, a great part of our lives was spent in personal relations with individuals, and there is no more stimulating kind of existence. Innumerable guests stayed with us, old Rhodes Scholars, convalescing Rhodes Scholars, sons and daughters of Rhodes Scholars and parents, cousins and aunts of Rhodes Scholars! There were other guests of many different ranks and degrees, from Very Important Persons to schoolboys and schoolgirls on pilgrimage from far countries. It was for such miscellaneous purposes of hospitality that the Trustees built the spacious residential part of Rhodes House. That was in the spirit of the Founder, whose hospitality was ceaseless and was no respecter of persons. Lady Milner, in her charming reminiscences, *My Picture Gallery*, relates that once when she was staying at Groote Schuur she looked out of the window and saw, with some dismay, a large crowd of sightseers straggling untidily over the grounds. Mr. Rhodes, reading her thoughts, said: 'Some people like to have cows in their park. I like to have people in mine.' There were no cows at Rhodes House, but there were plenty of people, and we hope that the bipeds received at least as much amity as the English usually accord to quadrupeds.

We were, however, to see in Rhodes House a microcosm of the Social Revolution. One seems to be transported into a different era of history when one remembers that on beginning our duties at Rhodes House in 1931, we took over a complete staff of eight domestic servants. By the end of the war we had one faithful retainer left, and the chores were done by the mistress of the household, with such occasional assistance as she could get from an infrequent 'daily' and (later) from foreign students who lived with the family. In the thirties the constant luncheon- and dinner-parties of Rhodes Scholars were of a semi-formal pattern, which our predecessors impressed on us was to be regarded as part of the civilizing influence of Oxford. By 1946 our guests—necessarily reduced in number—were all offering to help with

the washing-up (sometimes there was almost one upwasher per dish) and it was a rare sojourner, high or humble, who did not offer to 'do' the bedroom and make the bed. A transformation indeed—but we often wondered whether hospitality and fellowship did not gain rather than lose by the change. Though it meant harder work and more contrivance, it at least relaxed a standard which in our earlier days had sometimes been a little constricting.

Were our years of service to be lived again, my wife and I would not wish to spend them in any other calling, for, despite all the shortcomings which we see only too clearly in retrospect, none could have brought us richer satisfactions.

IV

THE AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIPS

BY FRANK AYDELOTTE

CHAPTER I

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS IN THE UNITED STATES¹

MY account of the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships in the United States must be at least in part autobiographical, since I was the first Secretary for the United States and held that post for thirty-five years, from 1918 to the beginning of 1953. When I retired at the end of December 1952 I had been connected with the Rhodes Trust longer than any other officer or any Trustee. This association was a wonderful experience, and one which I should like to recount in much fuller detail than would be suitable in this volume.

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The system of selection under which I obtained my Rhodes Scholarship in 1905, the second year of the operation of the scheme in the United States, had been set up in 1903 and 1904 by Dr. (later Sir George) Parkin, the Organizing Secretary to the Rhodes Trustees. Parkin had made a careful study of the problem of administering the Scholarships in America and had discussed it during the year 1903 with representatives of leading educational groups in America, such as the Association of American Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of State Universities, and other national educational organizations.

The decision reached by the Trustees, on his recommendation, was that he should select for each state a committee of College Presidents who should make the choices. To satisfy the requirements of the University of Oxford there was also set up a qualifying examination, required of all candidates, in Latin, Greek and Mathematics, which was the equivalent of Responsions.

¹ I have given a more extended account of this subject in my book, *The American Rhodes Scholarships*, Princeton, 1946, which was published in England in the same year by the Oxford University Press under the title of *The Vision of Cecil Rhodes*.

Since each state was, under Mr. Rhodes's Will, allowed two Scholarships, each to be good for three years, it was arranged that elections should take place in all states in the Union in two years out of three, each state electing one Rhodes Scholar in each of the two election years, and no Rhodes Scholars being elected in the third year. Under this system there were elections in 1904 and 1905, none in 1906; in 1907 and 1908, none in 1909; in 1910 and 1911, none in 1912.

It is easy to criticize this plan in the light of the fifty years of experience in administering the Rhodes Scholarships which have accumulated since it was set up. As a pioneering effort, however, it deserves great credit, and Parkin's judgment must be the more commended since he showed himself ready to accept modifications as the need for them became apparent. Nevertheless, the original scheme contained defects, now only too obvious, and a large part of the history of the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships in America has been the gradual amendment of the method of selection so as to obtain a more effective and a more uniform representation of the United States at Oxford than was possible under the earlier arrangements. I should like to emphasize, however, that the problem has not been one merely of mechanics and procedures. Although great changes have been made in the method of selection of American Rhodes Scholars, there was also the perhaps even more important work of developing throughout the United States an interest in the Rhodes Scholarships and an appreciation of the opportunities that they offered.

* * *

To begin with a minor but still important point, the qualifying examination presented in the early days a considerable obstacle. The examination, as I know by experience, was not difficult, but it was not possible for an individual who did not have an elementary knowledge of Greek, and actually, during the years 1904-13, of the 1,654 candidates who took the examination, only 649 passed in all subjects. An arrangement was made in 1909 by which candidates conditioned in Greek could take that examina-

tion later, and 222 men so conditioned were eventually able to pass. Even so, in many states only one or two men would pass the examination, and very often the one man who passed would be elected to a Rhodes Scholarship.

The arrangement for simultaneous elections in all states two years out of three had obvious difficulties. A man might come of age for a Rhodes Scholarship in a year in which there was no election and might by the following year have committed himself to other plans which prevented his becoming a candidate. Again, a well-qualified man might for any one of various reasons be too old for the age limit before he had a chance to compete. The system also presented great difficulties for the University of Oxford, which had the problem of admitting forty-eight Rhodes Scholars from the United States every two years out of three, and none the third year. Any admissions official of any College or University will appreciate this problem.

A partial improvement was effected through a new plan set up by the Rhodes Trustees in 1915. Under this scheme the states of the Union were divided into three groups, two of which elected Rhodes Scholars every year. This greatly eased the situation of the Oxford Colleges, which could now reckon on a regular complement of thirty-two Scholars each year. It did not, however, solve the problems of the individual candidates in the various states.

Certainly the results of the Rhodes Scholarship competitions in the United States in the early years were something less than satisfactory. Not only were the methods of selection inadequate to secure the appointment of the best candidates who presented themselves, but there was a dearth of candidates and, after the first few years, there was even evidence that interest in the Rhodes Scholarships was beginning to decline. The best Rhodes Scholars in this period were as good as any we have ever had, but, because of the lack of competition, the average level was not as high as might have been desired. Besides this, many appointments actually went begging because there were no candidates at all. The number of American Rhodes Scholars

chosen for the years 1904-17 is shown in the following table. The number authorized was forty-eight for each year down through 1914, and thirty-two for 1916 and 1917. The year 1916 is the only one when there were sufficient candidates to fill all the appointments.

1904	43
1905	38
1907	45
1908	45
1910	44
1911	46
1913	43
1914	47
1916	32
1917	28

* * *

Another impediment, of a different kind, to the development of the plan was that, since the Selection Committees were composed exclusively of College Presidents in the various states, the ex-Rhodes Scholars who knew something about Oxford had no chance to make their knowledge useful. My own experience can serve as an illustration of this point. I went to Oxford in 1905 and returned to the United States in December 1907, after I had completed the examinations for the B.Litt. degree, in order to take up a position at Indiana University which had been offered me during the summer. I actually resigned my Scholarship in June 1907, although I did not plan to leave Oxford until December, as I wished to marry, and the regulations did not permit married Rhodes Scholars to remain in residence. During one of my vacations I had become engaged to Marie Osgood, who was then living with relatives (the George Grey Barnard family) in France. I was eager that she should see something of Oxford, meet the Rhodes Scholars and the officers of the Rhodes Trust and learn something at first hand of the meaning of this wonderful experience. I had intended that we should live on borrowed

money after our marriage in June 1907 until our return to America in December, and thought that the reward would amply justify what was, for a young man at the opening of his career, an adventurous system of financing. Our situation was greatly eased, however, by the kindness of my wife's cousin, Mrs. Fiske Warren, who was at that time living in Oxford and, although this was before women were officially admitted to the University, pursuing a four-year course in what was the equivalent of Greats. Mrs. Warren cordially invited us to live with her in her large house in Banbury Road. This hospitable invitation added the final touch to our plans and gave us six never-to-be-forgotten months in Oxford.

This beginning of our married life in Oxford meant, of course, that when we returned to Oxford in 1912-13 it was like going home to us both. It meant also that my wife's acquaintance with Rhodes Scholars was as extensive as mine, and it laid the foundation for her part in the administration of the *American Oxonian* (mostly, I am afraid, keeping accounts and wrapping and mailing copies) and, far more important, for collaboration with me when I became American Secretary in 1918. From the beginning and throughout my tenure of the post the American Secretaryship was a two-man job.

I returned to the United States at the end of 1907 full of enthusiasm for the opportunity which a Rhodes Scholarship offered and eager to do something to contribute to the successful working of the scheme. I was disappointed to find that I had no opportunity. Rhodes Scholars had, for the most part, no connection with the selection of new men and got their news about the working of the Rhodes Scholarships in this country mainly from the newspapers, and after 1914 from the *American Oxonian*. There were a few exceptions. Leigh Alexander of my year was chosen as a member of the Ohio Committee of Selection, and other Rhodes Scholars may have had similar opportunities, but only a very few. I became acquainted with a few of the new Rhodes Scholars. For example, Elmer Davis, who was appointed in 1910, came to call on me in Bloomington. I had, however, no

regular connection with the Scholarships and no opportunity to make my enthusiasm for them count.

When I went back to Oxford for the year 1912-13 (on leave of absence from Indiana University, to finish a book) I was much interested in meeting the Rhodes Scholars in residence at that time. A number of states, however, were not represented and I began to hear disturbing reports about the states in which there were no candidates. The qualifying examination (which was abolished in 1918) doubtless had something to do with this, but I soon became convinced that the real cause was lack of knowledge on the part of American students of the opportunity offered.

* * *

Just before the 1904 Rhodes Scholars returned to the United States in 1907 an alumni association of American Rhodes Scholars was organized in Oxford with R. F. Scholz (Wisconsin and Worcester, 1904) as President and E. W. Murray (Kansas and St. John's, 1904) as Secretary and Editor of the *Alumni Magazine*, a quarterly periodical which was planned to keep American Rhodes Scholars in touch with each other and in touch with Oxford. The *Alumni Magazine* was published from December 1907 to April 1912. In this latter year the publication was abandoned because of lack of funds.

Although the old *Alumni Magazine* was abandoned in 1912, the Association has continued to exist down to the present day. It has established itself as the organization of the American Rhodes Scholars, and it gives every indication of having a continued life of increasing usefulness. The Association has from the start aspired to accumulate a fund which could be used for Rhodes Scholarship purposes. I am happy to say that this fund, including the endowment for the Eastman Professorship, now amounts to something over \$400,000, and there is no doubt in my mind that it will amount in the course of time to an even more considerable figure. The possible uses of such a fund are many. It is my own ambition that we shall eventually be able to pay out of this fund all the expense of the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships

in the United States. Members of Committees, as noted below, already pay their own travelling and hotel expenses. In addition, however, money is needed for the salary of the American Secretary, the expense of printing a memorandum of regulations and, most important of all, for contributions to the academic work of the University of Oxford.

When the Rhodes Scholarships were established there was a feeling in Oxford, which Sir Francis Wylie has recorded, that while the Founder had added materially to the number of undergraduates and consequently to the expense of instruction, he made no commensurate gift to the University of Oxford itself. Some funds have been given to Oxford by the Rhodes Trustees for specific purposes. It is my aspiration that we shall be able to build up the fund of the Association of American Rhodes Scholars to such a size that it will be possible to render significant support to the intellectual work of the University of Oxford. This is, it might be pointed out, the kind of task which the alumni of every American University take for granted.

This fund, part of which is known as the American Trust Fund for Oxford University, has already been able to make a small beginning by receiving restricted gifts for Oxford Colleges and transmitting them to the intended recipients. The amount of these restricted gifts has been significant, but I hope that eventually the Fund will be able to transmit much larger amounts. In the life of Oxford fifty years is a short time, and what we have done so far should be regarded only as a beginning.

* * *

In 1914 I established, with the help of Rhodes Scholar friends, the *American Oxonian*. The aim of the new magazine was not merely to keep Rhodes Scholars in touch with one another, but also to advertise the Scholarships and to stir up competition for them. Different numbers were financed by different groups of Rhodes Scholars around the country. For example, the number for January 1915 was made possible by a subscription which I collected in New York, and I still remember my astonishment

and delight to find that there were some Rhodes Scholars who could and did give as much as \$25.00, a very handsome sum in those days.

The *Oxonian* was widely distributed. We sent copies to all the Rhodes Scholars whether they had paid their subscriptions or not, on the theory that this was the best way to get them interested. We sent the magazine as well to as many College and University libraries as we could afford, and we published a continuous series of articles, like Thayer's review of comments on the Scholarships in American periodicals, in order to give those interested some idea of the impact of the Scholarships on American public opinion. This effort was, of course, aided by Parkin's book, and by a book on the Rhodes Scholarships by R. F. Scholz and Stanley Hornbeck.

We all of us felt in this country that the *American Oxonian* did something to increase interest in the Rhodes Scholarships. The Rhodes Trustees appreciated its value to the extent that they offered us a modest subsidy which, for a few years, was accepted. As the magazine grew more successful I felt myself that it was a mistake for us to publish it with a subsidy from the Rhodes Trustees and accordingly I gratefully refused to accept any further remittances. Since 1928, which was the last year in which the subsidy was paid, the *American Oxonian* has been entirely self-supporting and has been run on the admirable principle of not printing more pages in any given year than our funds would justify.

The *American Oxonian* has been the means by which American Rhodes Scholars, widely scattered as they are, could keep in touch with each other. Reunions of small groups were held from time to time as occasion served, but because of the distances involved, national reunions have been rare and never fully attended. The most important ones were in Swarthmore in 1933, which was held at the time of the College Commencement and thus we were fortunate in having prominent Rhodes Scholars for the Commencement speakers, and in Princeton in 1947. Instead of frequent reunions the whole group can be reached

through this modest magazine. The annual list of addresses and occupations is kept up to date, as is the necrology which is now becoming of increasing importance. Older men must face the fact that the time is soon coming when older Rhodes Scholars will die as fast as new ones are appointed.

In the early years my wife, who knew the Rhodes Scholars as well as I did, assisted in the editing and mailing of the magazine. Soon after I became American Secretary, however, it became evident that, if I was to continue my career in education, the magazine was just one task too many, and the tasks of Editor and Business Manager have been passed on to a series of men who have taken advantage of this opportunity to perform an outstanding service for the Rhodes Scholarships. As Editors the following men have served:

C. F. Tucker Brooke (West Virginia and St. John's, 1904).
Alan Valentine (Pennsylvania and Balliol, 1922).
Crane Brinton (Massachusetts and New College, 1919).
Harvie Branscomb (Alabama and Wadham, 1914).
With William Blackburn (South Carolina and Hertford, 1923).
Gordon Chalmers (Rhode Island and Wadham, 1926).
With Denham Sutcliffe (Maine and Hertford, 1937)
and Holbrook MacNeill (New Jersey and Balliol, 1928).
Paul Havens (New Jersey and University, 1925).
E. Wilson Lyon (Mississippi and St. John's, 1925).

And as Business Managers:

William Thayer (New Hampshire and Magdalen, 1905).
E. D. Keith (Connecticut and Oriel, 1910).
Henry Allen Moe (U.S.A.-at-Large and Brasenose, 1919).
George E. Barnes (Montana and Christ Church, 1904).
John W. Bodine (Connecticut and Balliol, 1933).

It would be hard to over-estimate the value of the contribution made by these men to the working of the Scholarships.



In such ways as this Rhodes Scholars did what they could to popularize the Scholarships, but it soon became evident that all that we were able to do was not enough. The problem which faced us was to bring the Scholarships to the attention of possible candidates and of American College professors who were their advisers. After my return to the United States I had considerable correspondence with Parkin, and with Rhodes Scholars whom I knew, about the lack of competition. The result of our correspondence was that Parkin invited me to accompany him in 1917 on one or two of the trips which he made around the United States. These trips were extremely illuminating to me. In the discussions which ensued I realized how little members of our Committees often understood of the nature of the Scholarships and how little effective work was being done to bring this opportunity to the attention of possible candidates.

One amusing situation which we discovered was that in certain states the Committees had adopted the idea of passing the Scholarship around, first to one University and then to another. Parkin naturally objected to this. In one case the Committee chairman replied that his University had had it the year before and that it would be very embarrassing to him if the University which had the next turn should not receive the Scholarship. Dr. Parkin saw the point and gave his consent on the understanding that once the round had been completed the Scholarship should be awarded solely on merit.

The other side of this picture, however, was that the reception given to returning Rhodes Scholars was excellent. They had no difficulty in finding jobs and soon began to make a distinct success in their various occupations.

* * *

The Rhodes Trustees began during these years to consider what should be done to improve the American competition. It was decided to create an American Secretaryship, and on Dr. Parkin's recommendation I was, in 1918, invited to assume the duties of this post. Needless to say, I was delighted to accept.

I was then a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a few years later became President of Swarthmore College, but I kept up my Rhodes Scholarship work in addition to these other activities, as I did after I became Director of the Institute for Advanced Study in 1939. I had the task of administering the qualifying examination in 1918, the last time it was given, and had the responsibility of administering the American selections.

This last problem looked a difficult one. On the one hand there were the very strict terms of the Will and on the other hand there was this apathy concerning the Scholarships in the United States and the great inequality between the American states. The first move I made as American Secretary was to ask the Trustees to allow me to compose the Committees of Selection entirely of Rhodes Scholars except for the chairmen who, it was provided, should always be distinguished citizens outside the Rhodes Scholar group. I have many times been thankful that I had the foresight to make this last provision, which prevented the Scholarship body from becoming a closed corporation. On the other hand, the Rhodes Scholars who made up the bulk of the Committees knew Oxford and they had an intense enthusiasm for the Rhodes Scholarships. They had also an instinctive understanding of the type of man who would be successful as a Rhodes Scholar.

Mr. Wylie, later Sir Francis Wylie, came over in 1919 to assist me in organizing the first Committees of Rhodes Scholars. His knowledge of old Rhodes Scholars through the years of association with them at Oxford was of the greatest value for this task. We did a certain amount of travelling and made up what seemed to us a satisfactory list of Committees for the first election under my administration.

When the original scheme was set up in 1904 the College Presidents who composed the earliest Committees had given an undertaking to Parkin that since the money for the Scholarships came from an English source the expense of the selection should be borne in the United States. I asked the Rhodes Scholar members of Committees whether they were prepared to adhere

to this understanding and was delighted to find that they would. The result was that, from 1918 down to the present, members of Committees of Selections, both Rhodes Scholars and chairmen, have paid their own expenses when serving in the state in which they resided. This has even applied to the Secretaries of the Committees, who have, of course, to receive applications, answer inquiries and perform other tasks, and who have, in consequence, a considerable stenographic and postal expense. The result of all this is that Rhodes Scholars have thus contributed some thousands of dollars per year to the administration of the Rhodes Trust. This was important even in 1918, and much more so later as prices rose and the burden on the limited funds of the Rhodes Trust became heavier by the needed increase of the Scholars' stipend from the original £300 to the £600 which was allotted as from 1954.

* * *

The second move which I made as American Secretary was to ask the permission of the Trustees to reprint the Memorandum of Regulations which had been sent to the United States each year in fairly small quantities. I reprinted 15,000 copies at once (as I did ever afterwards) and a year later the United States Commissioner of Education very kindly reprinted 12,500 more. The result of the distribution of these copies through the Colleges and Universities was, of course, to make the Scholarships much better known than they had been originally.

The reconstituted Rhodes Scholar Committees worked an immediate improvement in the competition and in the quality of the Scholars selected. Down to 1918 (as I have noted) there had been only one year in which all the appointments were filled, the vacancies being due to the fact that in various states few or no candidates offered themselves. Since 1918 we have never lacked candidates and have usually sent the full number authorized. Not merely the number but also the quality of the Rhodes Scholars who went to Oxford showed an immediate improvement.

Nevertheless, there was a great difference between the states in the calibre of the men selected. This difference was felt in Oxford and, of course, was felt by those of us in the United States who were responsible for the selections. To meet this problem we tried another device: Committees were instructed to refuse to appoint when, in their opinion, there was no candidate appearing before them who would be a credit to his country at Oxford. This policy, however, was carried out only in one or two states, and even in the few cases where it was followed it still did not solve our problem. There is a great difference between a man who will make a first-class Rhodes Scholar and a man who has enough ability to be a possibly acceptable Rhodes Scholar if no stronger candidate appears.

* * *

The problem was one which weighed heavily on the minds of all the Rhodes Scholars who had any connection with the selections, which in practice meant all the Rhodes Scholars in the United States. As a result of years of discussion we evolved what is known as the District Plan. Under this plan, as it was finally adopted, the country is divided into eight Districts of six states each. Four Scholars are elected each year from each District. There is a competition every year in every state and each state Committee is permitted to nominate two candidates to appear before the District Committee. From the twelve men so nominated the District Committee is authorized to select four without regard to state lines. This means, of course, that states no longer receive equal numbers of Rhodes Scholars. In a given year a given state may have two and another state none. While states do not receive equal numbers of Rhodes Scholars, each state receives as many as in the opinion of the Committee its candidates deserve, and it is difficult to find objectors who will argue that a Rhodes Scholarship should be given to a man who does not deserve it.

Nevertheless, the District plan had from the beginning and,

indeed, so far as I know, still has some opposition from a certain number of ex-Rhodes Scholars. These were men who took the position that they would rather see all the states represented even though the average quality of the Rhodes Scholars was not so high. This was, of course, a perfectly tenable position, but I am happy to say that eventually the prevailing opinion was that the important thing was to appoint men who came as nearly as possible up to the standard of quality prescribed by Mr. Rhodes in his Will rather than to appoint men from all the states. This position was strengthened by the difference in population between the states. It became quite clear that if equal numbers were appointed from all the states, candidates from states with smaller populations would have a very great advantage over those who competed in states where the population was large. The difference in population was so great (at the extreme nearly 100 to 1) that this argument became a very real one. It is still, I think, true that a candidate from one of the smaller states has statistically a better chance of an appointment than does a man who comes from one of the larger states.

The District plan was not put into operation without years of discussion. Indeed, I would like to take this opportunity of saying that the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships in the United States has been, throughout my official connection with it, distinctly democratic. It has been an effort and responsibility of the whole body of Rhodes Scholars, and all have had a part. When Rhodes Scholars meet together they are certain to discuss problems connected with the choice of new men and the welfare of those who have already been sent, and from these discussions there gradually emerge new ideas of inestimable value for the future planning of the work. This democratic aspect of the administration of the Scholarships has, I am convinced, been of immense value in the development of the Scholarships in America during this whole period.

I discussed the District plan with other Rhodes Scholars in meetings from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Besides this, I inter-

viewed a large number of leaders of education in the United States, College Presidents and officials of educational associations and foundations. The result of these many consultations was, on the whole, an overwhelming endorsement of the plan. It remained only to convince the Trustees.

* * *

At first the Trustees were opposed, on the grounds that the plan was contrary to the Will, which had guaranteed two Scholars from each state. My answer was, as I have indicated above, that it gave each state its quota provided the competition deserved it. I remember that when I went to Oxford in 1924 for a summer visit I said to Lord Milner, who was then the senior Trustee, that I had brought over two plans, one of which I was sure was legal and the other, I was afraid, was not. His reply was: 'Doubtless the illegal plan is the better'. I said that I was afraid it was, and he replied, to my surprise and delight, that he thought they would have to have the illegal plan. The result of Lord Milner's attitude, which I soon found was shared by other Trustees, was that Philip Kerr (later Lord Lothian), who was then Secretary of the Trust, was sent to the United States to make independent inquiries among Rhodes Scholars, College Presidents and educational authorities throughout the country as to their opinion of the plan. I am happy to say that he received a very strong endorsement, and so reported to the Rhodes Trustees. Nevertheless, the legal advisers to the Trust pronounced the plan illegal under the Will. The result was that under Lord Lothian's influence, the Rhodes Trustees arranged the passage through Parliament of the Rhodes Trust Act of 1929, which authorized the District plan, and in other ways liberalized the administration of the Scholarships. It is a question whether an act of this sort would have been possible in the United States, but the powers of Parliament extend even to the modification of a man's will.

Personally, I felt no compunction about obtaining the scheme which would alter the terms of the Rhodes Will. I had carefully

studied not only that Will but also all the papers ever issued by the Founder in connection with it, and I felt very strongly that if I could only have put the case to him face to face he would have been in favour of the District plan. Though the administration of the Rhodes Scholarships in this country is now conducted on a plan quite different from that which he outlined, I am convinced that, if he could have been consulted, he would have agreed with what we are doing.

* * *

In accordance with the Rhodes Trust Act of 1929 the Trustees authorized the adoption of the District plan for the American elections of 1930. The difference it produced in the records of the Rhodes Scholars at Oxford was startling and dramatic. The best Rhodes Scholars elected under the District plan were no better than the best had always been, but under this plan the quality of the whole group was much more uniform. This was felt in Oxford and in the course of a few years made the admission of Rhodes Scholars to Oxford Colleges much easier than it had been in the past. It is true that the District plan has lessened the number of Rhodes Scholars from certain of the smaller states, but it has made the Rhodes Scholars from those states when selected a much stronger group and much more suited for admission to Oxford Colleges.

Distribution of Rhodes Scholars by states under the District plan is shown in the following tabulation of elections from 1930 to 1953. Under the old plan, by which elections were held in a given state two years out of three, the average for a given state in these seventeen years would have been eleven or twelve Rhodes Scholars. Approximately half the states have this number or more; approximately half the states have fewer. According to population, however, the smaller states have the better of the bargain, and a given individual would even since 1930 have statistically a better chance of an appointment if he came from Nevada, with a population at the foot of the list, than from California, with a population which stands near the top.

DISTRIBUTION OF RHODES SCHOLARS BY STATES ELECTIONS
1930-53

27	California	11	Alabama
			Arizona
22	Oregon		Louisiana
	Virginia		Maryland, D.C.
20	Connecticut		New Hampshire
	Massachusetts		Utah
19	New York	10	Nebraska
18	Missouri	9	Arkansas
	Pennsylvania		Florida
	Washington		Indiana
17	Georgia		Mississippi
	Illinois		North Dakota
	Texas		
16	Ohio	8	Idaho
	Oklahoma		Maine
15	New Jersey		Rhode Island
14	Michigan		Tennessee
	Colorado	6	New Mexico
13	Iowa		South Dakota
	Minnesota	5	Vermont
12	Kansas		West Virginia
	Montana		
	North Carolina	4	Delaware
	Wisconsin		Kentucky
			South Carolina
			Wyoming
		3	Nevada

CHAPTER II

POST-WAR CHANGES

THE two world wars obviously demanded some modifications of our administration of the Rhodes Scholarships in the United States. The first war meant that in 1917 and 1918 no American Rhodes Scholars could go to Oxford. Scholars were elected, however, as for those years and allowed to take up their Scholarships when this again became possible. Thus the 1917 Scholars went into residence in 1919; the 1918 and 1919 Scholars in 1920. The second war caused a more serious break (seven years with no elections) from 1939 through 1945. Scholars had been elected for 1939 but only one, Charles Collingwood (Maryland and New College, 1939), was able to take up his Scholarship in 1939 and this because he happened to be already in England, serving as a war correspondent with the British Forces. He remained at Oxford only one year and then resumed his work as war correspondent, this time with the American Forces. Of the thirty-two men elected for 1939, seventeen were never able to take up their Scholarships. A small number of this group sailed for England in the fall of 1946, but were destined to be further delayed in New York by a shipping strike; a delay also experienced by the 1947 group the following year.

No further elections were held in the United States until 1946 when Scholars were elected for 1947, and when forty-eight, instead of the usual thirty-two, were chosen. A similar number were elected for 1948, but in 1949 the number returned to the normal thirty-two. For men who had served in the armed forces the Trustees allowed a certain relaxation in the rules concerning age and marriage. Any man was allowed to compete who would have been eligible to compete during the years when the Scholarships were suspended.

Swarthmore College, of which I was then President, saw a good deal of the Rhodes Scholars during the war years. In September 1938, when the Scholars-elect had assembled in New York ready to sail, the conference at Munich halted, for the moment, any departure from the U.S.A. I knew by experience the disastrous effect any long stay in New York would have on the finances of the newly-appointed Scholars and accordingly invited the entire group to pay a visit to Swarthmore. Our students generously doubled up in the men's dormitory, provided our guests with athletic equipment, and I believe that the whole group, hosts and guests alike, thoroughly enjoyed the experience.

We were not to see the last of this group at Swarthmore. Two years later, in the spring of 1940, the United States Government issued strict instructions that all U.S. citizens in Europe should return to the U.S.A. The final date when a sailing was available came just before the date fixed for Honours examinations at Oxford. A group of six Americans (three Rhodes Scholars and three non-Rhodes Scholars) were scheduled to take these examinations. The question was what should they do. Individuals, of course, could and did ignore the instructions of the Department of State. But I felt it would be unfortunate to have a group of Rhodes Scholars and the University of Oxford involved in such a defiance of our Government.

A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol and at that time Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, solved the problem. He said to the *Hebdomadal Council* that he was sure these examinations could be given at Swarthmore. He sent me a cablegram to which I sent a joyful acceptance. Papers and instructions were prepared, the Rhodes Scholars sailed from England and eventually appeared at Swarthmore where they were again received in the dormitory to await papers which arrived, duly opened and passed by the censor, from Oxford. The examinations were held in correct Oxford form, with gowns and white ties required, and ex-Rhodes Scholars to invigilate, the answers were duly posted to Oxford (first being microfilmed to guard against any possible wartime casualty) and

the examinees in due time all received their Honours degrees. The microfilms of the papers written are, I believe, preserved by Sir Douglas Veale, the Registrar, as a memento of the first time that Oxford Honours examinations have ever been held outside of Oxford—certainly the first time in the U.S.A.

In 1939 the Carnegie Corporations made a grant of \$25,000 to the Association of American Rhodes Scholars for the purpose of helping displaced Rhodes Scholars of the classes of 1937, 1938 and 1939 to continue their studies in the United States. From this fund we made thirty-five grants totalling \$13,715 to such Rhodes Scholars, and in 1940 we returned the unused balance of \$11,285 to the Carnegie Corporation.

* * *

The administration of the Rhodes Scholarships in the United States owes a great debt to half a dozen Rhodes Scholars who have given part of their time to assisting the American Secretary. I myself owe a great deal to the varied knowledge, both geographical and personal, of these men. I hope and believe that the experience has been good for them. Two have succeeded me in succession as Presidents of Swarthmore College, and the last-named has now succeeded me as American Secretary. The list is as follows:

- Alan Valentine (Pennsylvania and Balliol, 1922).
- Troyer Anderson (New Hampshire and New College, 1923).
- John W. Nason (Minnesota and Oriel, 1928).
- Gilmore Stott (Ohio and Balliol, 1938).
- James McN. Hester (California and Pembroke, 1947).
- Courtney Smith (Iowa and Merton, 1938).

* * *

I am very proud of the record of the American Rhodes Scholars. Their averages in examinations in Oxford are better than those of the average Oxford Honours man. They are not quite up to the best Scholarship holders, but this can be partly accounted for by the fact that many of the ablest Rhodes Scholars

go in for research degrees for which no averages are possible. Their record in sports and in the activities of Oxford life is all that could be desired. I think I can say without exaggeration that American Rhodes Scholars are considered as assets to their Colleges.

I give below a tabulation of the occupations followed by American Rhodes Scholars after their return to the United States. Such a table will include some overlapping, for many men will have engaged in more than one occupation, but it does, I believe, show the important trends.

AMERICAN RHODES SCHOLARS BY OCCUPATIONS
Jubilee Year, *June 1953*

Education				
Teaching	.	.	.	366
Educational Administration	.	.	.	65
Law				
Legal Profession	.	.	.	246
Legal Education	.	.	.	21
Business	.	.	.	192
Government Service	.	.	.	113
Journalism, Radio, etc.	.	.	.	70
Medicine	.	.	.	45
Military Service	.	.	.	39
Ministry and Religious Work	.	.	.	32
Foundations	.	.	.	14
Scientific Research	.	.	.	7
Scholars in Residence and Miscellaneous	.	.	.	162
				<hr/>
				1,372

(This includes occupations of 162 deceased Rhodes Scholars.)

As might perhaps have been expected, the occupation that has attracted the largest number of American Rhodes Scholars, nearly one-third, has been education. Not only have many Rhodes Scholars become Professors in American Colleges and Universities, but also a surprisingly large number have become

Presidents of Colleges or Universities or heads of foundations. The influence of this group on American educational practice, and particularly on the rapidly increasing maturity and breadth of methods of instruction in American institutions of higher learning, has been immense. Much of this influence is intangible and cannot be exactly charted. However, there is one concrete development of such great importance that it must be briefly, if inadequately, mentioned in this place. This is the extension of the principles of honours work to American undergraduate instruction. Certainly the experience of Rhodes Scholars at Oxford has played a not inconsiderable part in the development in the United States of a concept of education, not as a technique of teaching, but as a means of bringing a student to a personal and individual grasp of his subject. In a rather elaborate study which I made several years ago I found that honours work in one form or another had been adopted in some 200 institutions in the United States, and I refer the reader to the book which I wrote at that time¹ for a more extended discussion of this very interesting development.

Next to the group in education comes the group who are teaching or practising Law. The interest of this subject for American Rhodes Scholars is obvious. American law is founded on the English constitution, and American Rhodes Scholars reading Law at Oxford are going over the fundamentals of what legal training would be, or ought to be, in the United States.

The greatest shift in recent years has been the considerable number of Rhodes Scholars who have gone into Government service. The number is now over a hundred and is constantly increasing. Men of the Rhodes Scholar type are needed in public work and they eagerly respond to the need. Needless to say, this is a development which would have given the Founder the greatest satisfaction. Something of the same kind could be said about work in journalism and radio. The improvement in quality of our journalistic work and the increasing importance of radio,

¹ Frank Aydelotte, *Breaking the Academic Lockstep: The Development of Honors Work in American Colleges and Universities*, Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1944.

including television, are evident to all, and it is not surprising that the number of Rhodes Scholars in these occupations has increased so rapidly.

In general I think it could be said of the American Rhodes Scholars that they have excelled in whatever they have undertaken. This excellence has not always led to newspaper notoriety, but as I travel around the United States I am constantly pleased to find Rhodes Scholars in positions of importance doing well the work which has been allotted them to do.

* * *

One indication of the success of the operation of the Rhodes Scholarships in America is the remarkable way in which they have inspired other foundations. I should like to mention five particularly striking instances of this.

Shortly after I became American Secretary in 1918 I began active work on a plan for reciprocating the Rhodes Scholarships to bring English students to study in the United States. I showed this plan to Rhodes Scholars, to educational men up and down the country and to everyone that I thought could add anything to it. The result was a plan that seemed to those of us concerned excellent for the purpose, but all my efforts to obtain funds to put it into operation proved vain. Suddenly that problem was solved by a visit in 1924 to Edward Harkness, the donor of the Commonwealth Fund, by the Prince of Wales (now Duke of Windsor). Apparently the Prince emphasized to Mr. Harkness how desirable it would be to have such a scheme of reciprocity and Mr. Harkness, with his usual promptness, replied that we should have it at once.

The first I knew of this was through a telephone call from Max Farrand, then administrator of the Commonwealth Fund, who asked if he could talk with me. He came down to Swarthmore, told me the problem and asked whether I had any suggestions as to what form such a system of Fellowships should take. I replied that I had a plan ready-made. I showed this to him and told him about the authorities whom I had consulted. He saw

instantly that this was what he wanted and took the plan, only warning me that my connection with it would have to be kept confidential. That, of course, was satisfactory to me, so long as the plan was going to be put into operation. It was adopted by the Commonwealth Trustees with only minor changes, and I am able to speak about it only because Max Farrand broke the seal of silence by an article in the *Educational Record*¹ for July 1925 in which he gave the facts which I have here outlined. The whole story was told again by Oscar N. Solbert in an article in *World's Work* for July 1926.²

The Commonwealth Fund Fellowships have been admirably administered and Commonwealth Fellows have been a great success in all the different Colleges and Universities which they have attended. Naturally, it was a great satisfaction to me that this scheme should be in one sense a result of the Rhodes Scholarships. Richard H. Simpson, himself a Rhodes Scholar (Indiana and Brasenose, 1913), was the first Secretary of the Commonwealth Committee of Award, and wrote after his retirement in 1950 some interesting and charming *Reminiscences* which I wish could be more widely read.

In 1924 I received a visit in Swarthmore from C. A. Wilson (Massachusetts and Worcester, 1908) who was then on the legal staff of the American Smelting and Refining Company. Wilson came to me as a representative of Senator Guggenheim to say that the Senator wanted to found a system of scholarships or Fellowships, that he had the Rhodes Scholarships very much in

¹ 'The Commonwealth Fund Fellowships', Max Farrand, *Educational Record*, July 1925. 'On the following pages is given a summary of the provisions for granting these Fellowships, and I should like here publicly to give credit to President Aydelotte of Swarthmore for his assistance in developing the details of this plan. President Aydelotte had already been working, as many of you know, upon this very subject for a number of years. He turned over his plan for our use, and it was simply adapted to meet the requirements of our directors.'

² 'Continuing the Rhodes Scholar Idea', Oscar N. Solbert, *The World's Work*, July 1926. 'The credit for the plan adopted should be largely given to Dr. Frank Aydelotte, President of Swarthmore College and American Secretary of the Rhodes Trust. From his long experience with the Rhodes Scholarships, Dr. Aydelotte had worked out a carefully devised plan for a reciprocal project to bring British students to the United States. This plan had been discussed in detail with representatives of British Universities and, with certain minor modifications made in accordance with the wishes of the directors, formed the basis of the final plan adopted by the Commonwealth Fund.'

mind and that he would like to have me suggest a plan. I thought the matter over carefully, consulted various educational advisers and came to the conclusion that the greatest gap in our system of scholarships and fellowships in the United States lay in the lack of opportunity for older students who had taken the ordinary undergraduate and graduate degrees and who wanted to go on with advanced research. At the time the Guggenheim Foundation was organized there was practically no system of support for these mature scholars and artists. I employed Henry Allen Moe, who was just then leaving Oxford, as my assistant in consulting educational authorities and in making the plans. I afterwards suggested him as Secretary to the Foundation, a position which he accepted and has held ever since. I myself became chairman of the Educational Advisory Board. Senator Guggenheim, during his lifetime, added substantially to the endowment and remembered the Foundation in his will. The Guggenheim Fellowships have been a great success intellectually, and the outstanding work done by Guggenheim Fellows has had the result of the establishment of similar schemes by other foundations; none, however, so extensive.

I felt very strongly in the 1920s, as did many other Rhodes Scholars, that it was a pity that Oxford saw only young American men who went as students and that no arrangements existed to give the University an opportunity of sharing the more advanced results of American scholarship. It was indicated to me by Mr. Abraham Flexner that George Eastman might possibly be interested in arranging for something of the kind. Accordingly, Dr. Flexner and I paid a visit to Mr. Eastman and broached the matter to him. The ultimate result was that Mr. Eastman gave the Association of American Rhodes Scholars \$200,000, which was the sum we had suggested.

When I returned to Swarthmore after this happy result I gave a good deal of further thought to the financial terms of the Professorship. Mr. Eastman was anxious that the Professor should be provided with a suitable house in Oxford and that the terms of the Professorship should be liberal. When I translated

these ideas into figures I felt that the income from \$200,000 would not be enough and I accordingly wrote a letter to Mr. Eastman saying that if we wanted to make the Professorship all that we had been discussing we ought to have \$100,000 in addition. In a few days' time I received from George Eastman a handwritten letter enclosing his cheque for \$100,000, and it was upon the basis of this \$300,000 that the Eastman Professorship was established.

The fund was given to the Association of American Rhodes Scholars, and the Professor is chosen by a committee consisting of two men appointed by the Association and two by the Hebdomadal Council, with the Vice-Chancellor as chairman. The list of Eastman Professors is an extremely distinguished one and all reports indicate that the Professorship has added materially to the intellectual resources of the University of Oxford. The list of Eastman Professors so far appointed is as follows:

1930-31	John Livingston Lowes
1931-32	Wesley Clair Mitchell
1933-34	Felix Frankfurter
1934-35	Arthur Holly Compton
1935-36	Herbert Spencer Jennings
1936-37	Simon Flexner
1937-38	Tenney Frank
1939-40	Joseph Chamberlain
1944	Charles Howard McIlwain
1945-46	Benjamin Dean Meritt
1948	Linus Pauling
1950-51	Wallace Notestein
1951-52	Donald Stauffer
1952-53	George Washington Corner
1953-54	Willard Van Orman Quine
1954-55	John Huston Finley, Jr.
1955-56	Roger Sherman Loomis

In 1952 I was informed by the British Ambassador that the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had formed a

committee to discuss possible scholarships from the United States to England as recognition of the work of General Marshall. I was invited by the British Government to go to England and to sit with this committee. The committee wished to take advantage of the experience of the Rhodes Scholarships in organizing their system of selection and administration.

The task of making this plan was to me a most interesting one and one for which I had, of course, a great deal of preparation. The result was the arrangements for the administration of the Marshall Scholarship Scheme presented to Parliament in May 1953 and recorded in Cmd. 8846. General Marshall was exceedingly pleased that the British Government should take this action in his honour, and the announcement of the Scholarships was received with enthusiasm both in England and in the United States. The Scholarships are, on the whole, similar to the Rhodes Scholarships, but I took pains to suggest that certain limitations we have experienced with the Rhodes Scholarships should be eradicated. The awards are open to both sexes, without restriction as to marriage, and more liberal arrangements have been made for age, stipend and travelling expenses. The first Scholars chosen went to England in 1954.

One more system of Scholarships modelled on the Rhodes Scholarships, but for study in the state of North Carolina, has been established by the John Motley Morehead Foundation for students attending the University of North Carolina. These Scholarships are open to graduates of secondary schools and, although they are awarded on a yearly basis, the trustees have the policy of setting aside in connection with each appointment a sum of money intended to enable a man to finish his course. The awards are given only to students of exceptional distinction and promise, and no account is taken of what may happen to be the financial resources of the candidate. The debt of this plan to the Rhodes Scholarships is handsomely acknowledged in a general account of the scheme by Mr. Chester S. Davis in the *Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel* for May 9, 1954.

Another very important system of scholarships which, according to its founder, J. William Fulbright (Arkansas and Pembroke, 1925), owes its inspiration to Rhodes, is a plan for the Fulbright awards which were authorized by a Bill introduced by Senator Fulbright in the United States Senate. The objectives of this programme are to promote better understanding of the United States abroad and to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and of other countries. Students receiving awards are expected to exemplify the best of our own country and their obligation is to further the basic objectives of the programme. The Fulbright awards were in the first instance based upon funds due to the United States in the various countries concerned. When those funds were exhausted the exchanges have been continued by money appropriated by the Congress of the United States.

Concerning the awards Senator Fulbright has written:

My experience as a Rhodes Scholar was the dominant influence in the creation of the Fulbright awards. Coming as I did from an interior section of our country, quite remote and isolated from foreign associations, the Rhodes Scholarship probably made a more vivid impact upon me than it did upon some of my colleagues from metropolitan areas. That experience, together with the devastation of the second world war and the existence of large uncollectable foreign credits, resulted in the Bill creating the scholarships. Since 1948, there have been some 20,000 awards. The recipients of these awards may be considered as grandchildren of Cecil Rhodes, scattered throughout the world.

These are the most important Scholarship systems which can be said in one way or another to be a result of the Rhodes Scholarships. There are, however, a number of excellent scholarship schemes involving smaller numbers of men, all of which were inspired to a considerable degree by the Rhodes Scholarships. Among these are the Davison Fellowships, the Choate Fellowship to the Harvard Law School, the Procter Fellowships at Princeton, the Riggs Fellowships at the University of Michigan and the Henry Fellowships at Harvard and Yale. As

American business firms come to appropriate more and more funds for education we may expect more scholarships founded on the example of Cecil Rhodes. In such ways as this has the example of Cecil Rhodes been followed throughout the world.

* * *

I would like to add one or two personal comments. One of the great rewards of a position with the Rhodes Trust has been the character of the individuals with whom one came into contact and with whom one had the pleasure of working. It would be difficult to overestimate the debt of the whole Rhodes Scholarship scheme to Dr. Parkin. His patience and energy in organizing the Scholarships were a lesson to everyone who worked with him, and the cordial way in which he received the changes which were made in the United States was heart-warming to me and to everyone concerned in that movement.

Sir Francis Wylie and his wife performed miracles in making the Rhodes Scholars feel at home in Oxford and in smoothing over all the little causes of friction between men from different countries and the dons in the Oxford Colleges. Some friction was inevitable and I only wish I had space to tell some of the amusing stories of the way in which the two Wylies met and conquered all the difficulties which interfered with the smooth working of the Scholarships.

Dr. C. K. Allen (later Sir Carleton Allen), together with Dorothy Allen, carried on beautifully in the Wylie tradition. The Allens have probably known personally more Rhodes Scholars and their wives than any other official of the Trust, counting the men who were in residence during their tenure of office plus the older men who show such a persistent tendency to return to Oxford for visits. Mr. and Mrs. E. T. Williams, who have succeeded the Allens at Rhodes House, have by their trip around the world already made for themselves a place in the hearts of Rhodes Scholars everywhere.

I became American Secretary too late to see much of Gilmour in the London office, but I greatly admired Geoffrey Dawson and

keenly regretted it when he left the Rhodes Trust to become Editor of the London *Times*. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Grigg, now Lord Altrincham, who filled the post of Secretary only for a short period before he was called away by public duties. His successor was Philip Kerr, later Marquess of Lothian, who made a great contribution to the Scholarships in the fourteen years during which he served as Secretary before he went to Washington as Ambassador. Lothian had a natural affinity for Americans, and he was popular wherever he went and was never able to accept all the invitations which poured in upon him from all sides, not merely for social and speaking engagements, but also for golf. His conduct of the office of British Ambassador to the United States may be considered a real contribution of the Rhodes Trust to British-American relations. His death was an equally great loss to Britain and the United States. When the Rhodes Trustees appointed Lord Elton as Lothian's successor, all the Rhodes Scholars in all countries who have known the Eltons felt that the Trustees had again fallen on their feet.

The Trustees have been equally fortunate in filling gaps in their own ranks. I cannot mention all, but I want particularly to say how glad I am that a considerable number of the Trustees, such as Sir Edward Peacock, Lord Hailey, the Dean of Christ Church, Sir George Abell and Professor Wheare have made occasional visits to the United States, and have by this means acquired an understanding of the special problems of the administration of the Scholarships in the United States. It is particularly fortunate that Lord Hailey, the Dean and the present Warden of Rhodes House have been able to sit as visitors with some of the American Committees of Selection.

As I glance over the preceding pages, I feel that I have merely touched on many subjects on which I should have preferred to dwell at much greater length. These concern the complicated human problems connected with the experiences of American Rhodes Scholars. It is difficult to summarize in a few words the complex experiences of thirty-five years in an enterprise that was

rapidly developing and changing, the more so since these changes were not merely mechanical but were also, and perhaps for the most part, changes in quality and spirit. Yet perhaps the bare outlines which have been described here will give some indication, if only a faint one, of the zest and enthusiasm and the sense of accomplishment which have characterized this first period of the Rhodes Scholarships in the United States. Certainly I consider that my own association with this work has been one of the great privileges of my life.

V

RECORDS AND STATISTICS

BY SIR CARLETON ALLEN

GENERAL NOTE

IN attempting to compile records and statistics concerning Rhodes Scholars, one has to draw a somewhat arbitrary datum line. Except with regard to Athletics, I limit myself here to Rhodes Scholars *elected up to and including the year 1949*, adding by way of postscript later items of special interest at the time of going to press. Names and particulars are to be found in the *Register of Rhodes Scholars*, published by the Trustees in 1950. It is needless to say that since that date a great many changes have taken place, and these have been noted, as far as possible, in the records which here follow.

When the *Register* was published, 2,633 Rhodes Scholars had been elected, of whom 319 were deceased. Since then 267 have come into residence, making a total of 2,900 at this time of writing, which is *February 1954*. The total number who, at that date, have died is 395,¹ leaving a residue of 2,505 living Rhodes Scholars. Of these 72 have retired from active work.

During the period under review 62 Scholars-elect were prevented, for one reason or another, from taking up their Scholarships at Oxford. Eight of these were killed in action and six died before coming into residence; many of the remainder, elected for 1939, 1940 and 1941, were committed to duties or vocations which made it impossible for them to come to Oxford when the war ended. The rest, elected in much earlier years, had been prevented by health or other personal reasons. In the following records no account is taken of the careers of these 62 men, except that the eight who lost their lives in the field are, of course, reckoned among the war casualties and are commemorated with the other victims of war on the War Memorial at Rhodes House.

The numbers with which I am concerned are, therefore, 2,571, arrived at by deducting from the total number elected up to 1953

¹ Postscript, April 1955. Add 26 since deceased, leaving a residue of 2,479.

the 267 elected for 1950, 1951, 1952 and 1953¹ (since it is too early to attempt any estimate of their vocations and careers), together with the 62 who were elected but never came into residence.

The facts recorded about these 2,571 men are as accurate as I have been able to make them up to and including *February 1954*. It is obvious that by the time these lines appear in print the figures will no longer be exact, for changes are constantly taking place—not least, unhappily, in the obituary list, since many of the early Rhodes Scholars are now in their sixties and seventies. However, any records compiled at any time must suffer from this disadvantage, and it is necessary to fix a *terminus ad quem* even though it be a shifting one.

Nor, indeed, can I claim a high degree of accuracy for any of these annals. The official records of the Rhodes Trust are largely dependent, for personal particulars, on information supplied by the Rhodes Scholars themselves, who are dispersed to the four quarters of the globe. The majority are faithful in autobiography, but not all are easy to reach, since addresses and occupations frequently change, and some are not as meticulous as others in returning the information forms which are sent out annually, or in sending news (as many do) by personal letters. From such a large number in so many different countries it would be too much to hope that particulars could always be up to date, though every effort is made to keep them so. Finally, where figures are concerned I cannot feel as much confidence as I should wish in my own mathematics. All I can hope to do is to give a general picture of some aspects of the lives and doings of Rhodes Scholars during the first half-century of the benefaction, in the hope that it may not be uninteresting, but also with the consciousness that it is far from precise in all details.

WAR SERVICE

In the two world wars, 111 Rhodes Scholars lost their lives on active service, 70 in the first and 41 in the second war. Their

¹ No account is taken of those elected for 1954. One of those was accidentally killed before coming into residence.

names are inscribed on the walls of the Rotunda in Rhodes House.

The numbers, including German Rhodes Scholars, of those who served in either or both of the two wars are as follows:

In both wars	116
In the first war only	490
In the second war only	809

It is impossible here to give any adequate account of the different kinds and degrees of service rendered by Rhodes Scholars, either in the field or in the ramified operational and auxiliary services which modern warfare demands. The highest command in the field, in either war, was held by Lieut.-Gen. Sir EDMUND HERRING, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., Q.C., D.S.C. (U.S.A.), Greek M.C. (1st cl.), Knight of St. John (*Victoria and New College*, 1912), who commanded the First Australian Corps in the Papuan and New Guinea campaigns, and who is now Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria. While no other Rhodes Scholar could quite approach this remarkable achievement in war and peace, there were many who held high commands in different Allied forces and won enviable distinctions and reputations. A notable part was played by American Rhodes Scholars not only under arms but in operational and administrative war departments—at one time there were about 150 so employed in Washington, of all ages and in a great variety of military and civil capacities.

The value of these contributions cannot be measured in terms of medals and commendations, but these are at least an index to meritorious service. A very large number of distinctions were won by Rhodes Scholars—more, there is reason to think, than are on record, for not all have been notified. The following table, therefore, does not pretend to be complete; it shows only a select few of the different kinds of awards and it does not include any of the foreign orders, many of high rank, which were accorded to Rhodes Scholars by various Allied countries in

Europe and Asia. It is to be regarded as symbolic rather than statistical.

MILITARY DISTINCTIONS WON BY RHODES SCHOLARS

British Awards

Distinguished Service Order	9
Distinguished Service Cross	2
Distinguished Flying Cross, with Bar	1
Distinguished Flying Cross	13 British Rhodes Scholars, 4 American
Military Cross, with two Bars	1
Military Cross, with Bar	7
Military Cross	61
Member of the Victorian Order	1
Commander of the Order of the British Empire	9 British, 1 American
Order of the British Empire	21 British, 10 American
Member of the Order of the British Empire	18 British, 3 American.

United States Awards

Medal for Merit	2
Legion of Merit	42 American, 3 British
Distinguished Service Cross	2
Air Medal	9
Silver Star	6 American, 1 British
Bronze Star	52 American, 4 British
Commendation Ribbon (Army or Navy)	36

It may be appropriate at this point to mention, after these martial achievements, the more conspicuous distinctions which have been conferred on Rhodes Scholars for services and outstanding work in peace-time.

CIVIL DISTINCTIONS WON BY RHODES SCHOLARS

Order of Merit

Dr. WILDER G. PENFIELD, C.M.G., Hon. Fellow of Merton College (*New Jersey and Merton, 1915*) (naturalized Canadian subject), Director of the Montreal Neurological Institute.

Privy Councillors

The late Rt. Hon. JAN H. HOFMEYR, Hon. Fellow of Balliol College (*South African College School and Balliol, 1910*).

The Rt. Hon. Lord THOMSON (*South African College School and Corpus Christi, 1911*), Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland.

Nobel Prize (shared)

Professor Sir HOWARD FLOREY, Hon. Fellow of Lincoln and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford, and of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, Professor of Pathology, University of Oxford (*South Australia and Magdalen, 1922*).

Peers¹

The late Lord ROBINSON (formerly Sir Roy Lister Robinson), O.B.E., (*South Australia and Magdalen, 1905*), Chairman and later Director-General of the Forestry Commission in England; (First Class in Geology, Burdett Coutts Scholar and a triple Blue).

The Rt. Hon. Lord THOMSON (Scottish Legal Peer) (*South African College School and Corpus Christi, 1911*), formerly M.P. for East Edinburgh and Lord Advocate; Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland.

Knights

The honour of Knighthood has been conferred on 15 British Rhodes Scholars and one (naturalized British) American, and

¹ It should be borne in mind that titles (peerages, knighthoods, etc.) do not exist in the United States or Canada, and are very rare in South Africa, so that less than half the Rhodes Scholars are eligible for them.

the honorary title on one American Rhodes Scholar. Their names and styles are as follows, in alphabetical order:

Dr. FRANK AYDELOTTE, Hon. D.C.L. (Oxon), Hon. Fellow of Brasenose College (*Indiana and Brasenose*, 1905), President of Swarthmore College, 1921-40, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1939-53; Secretary to the Rhodes Scholarships in the United States, 1918-52; Hon. K.B.E. (1953).

Sir JOHN BEHAN (*Victoria and Hertford*, 1904), formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford; Warden of Trinity College, Melbourne, 1918-46; General Secretary of the Rhodes Scholarships in Australia, 1922-52; Kt. (1949).

The late Sir EDMUND BRITTEN JONES (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1912), Physician (F.R.C.P.); Lt.-Col., A.A.M.C.; Kt. (1953).

The late Brigadier Sir HUGH CAIRNS, F.R.C.S. (*South Australia and Balliol*, 1917), Nuffield Professor of Surgery, Oxford, 1937-52; K.B.E. (Mil.) (1946).

Sir CECIL CUMINGS (*Rhodesia and New College*, 1924), formerly Chief Justice of the Sudan; K.B.E. (1952).

Sir HOWARD FLOREY, F.R.S., Medal for Merit (U.S.A.), Hon. Fellow of Lincoln and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford, and of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1921), Professor of Pathology, Oxford; Kt. (1944).

Sir ROBERT HALL (*Queensland and Magdalen*, 1923), C.B., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; Economic Adviser to H.M. Government; K.C.M.G. (1954).

Sir KEITH HANCOCK (*Australia-at-Large and Balliol*, 1920), formerly Fellow of All Souls College and Chichele Professor of Economic History, Oxford; Director, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London; Kt. (1953).

Lt.-Gen. Sir EDMUND HERRING, D.S.O., M.C., Q.C., D.S.C. (U.S.A.), Greek M.C. (1st cl.), Hon. D.C.L. (Oxon), Hon. Fellow of New College (*Victoria and New College*, 1912), Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria; K.B.E. (1944), K.C.M.G. (1947), Knight of St. John (1953).

Sir HERBERT HOWARD (*Rhodesia and Exeter*, 1908), formerly Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India; Secretary to the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureau; Kt. (1943).

Sir RICHARD NOSWORTHY (*Jamaica and Christ Church*, 1905), formerly British Minister to Bolivia and Commercial Minister to the British Embassy, Rio de Janeiro and Rome; K.C.M.G. (1945).

Brigadier Sir ARTHUR PORRITT, F.R.C.S., O.B.E., C.B.E., Legion of Merit (U.S.A.) (*New Zealand and Magdalen*, 1923), Surgeon, Sergeant Surgeon to H.M. the Queen; K.C.M.G. (1950).

Sir DAVID RIVETT, F.R.S., Hon. D.Sc. (Oxon), Hon. Fellow of Lincoln College (*Victoria and Lincoln*, 1907), formerly Chief Executive Officer and Chairman, Commonwealth Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (retired 1949); K.C.M.G. (1935).

Sir ELLIS ROBINS, D.S.O. (*Pennsylvania and Christ Church*, 1904) (naturalized British subject), Resident Director in Africa of the British South Africa Co.; Kt. (1946), K.B.E. (1954).

Sir ALLAN SMITH, M.C. (*Bermuda and St. John's*, 1912), formerly Chief Justice of Sierra Leone; Kt. (1954).

Sir ROBERT TREDGOLD, C.M.G. (*Rhodesia and Hertford*, 1919), Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia; Kt. (1950).

Sir JOHN WADDINGTON, G.B.E., C.M.G., O.B.E. (*Bermuda and Merton*, 1909), formerly Governor of Barbados (1938-41) and Northern Rhodesia (1941-47); K.C.M.G. (1939), K.C.V.O. (1947).¹

¹ Add (April 1955):

K.C.M.G.

Sir ROBERT TREDGOLD, Kt., C.M.G. (*Rhodesia and Hertford*, 1919), Chief Justice and Acting Governor of Southern Rhodesia.

KNIGHTS BACHELOR

Sir J. TROUNSELL GILBERT (*Bermuda and Brasenose*, 1907), Chief Justice of Bermuda.

Sir ERIC THOMAS, C.M.G., O.B.E., M.C. (*Rhodesia and Brasenose*, 1910), Judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia.

Sir ALAN WATT (*New South Wales and Oriel*, 1921), Australian Commissioner, Singapore, with personal rank of Ambassador.

Sir ROLAND WILSON, C.B.E. (*Tasmania and Oriel*, 1925), Secretary to the Commonwealth Treasury, Australia.

The C.B. has been conferred on 2 Rhodes Scholars, the C.V.O. on one, the C.M.G. on 14 and the C.B.E. on 11. Many others have been awarded the M.B.E. and O.B.E.

DISTINCTIONS AT OXFORD

The following are some details of prizes and special distinctions won at Oxford.

Vice-Chancellor

One Rhodes Scholar is the Head of a House at Oxford, viz. the Very Rev. JOHN LOWE (*Ontario and Christ Church*, 1922), Dean of Christ Church, who was Vice-Chancellor from 1948 to 1951.

Professors

Four Rhodes Scholars at present hold Professorships at Oxford, viz. A. EWERT (*Manitoba and St. John's*, 1912), Romance Languages; Sir HOWARD FLOREY (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1921), Pathology; K. C. WHEARE (*Victoria and Oriel*, 1929), Gladstone Professor of Government and Public Administration; and the Rev. C. A. SIMPSON (*Prince Edward Island and Christ Church*, 1916), Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church.

Two other Professorships have been held, by the late Sir HUGH CAIRNS (*South Australia and Balliol*, 1917), Nuffield Professor of Surgery, and Sir KEITH HANCOCK (*Australia-at-Large and Balliol*, 1920), Chichele Professor of Economic History, 1944-49. W. W. ROSTOW (*Connecticut and Balliol*, 1936) was Harmsworth Professor of American History for 1946-47 and L. H. GIPSON (*Idaho and Lincoln*, 1904) for 1951-52. S. H. BEER (*Michigan and Balliol*, 1932) was Fulbright Professor at Oxford, 1953-54.

Honorary Fellows

Their Colleges have elected to Honorary Fellowships the following 14 Rhodes Scholars:

Dr. FRANK AYDELOTTE (*Indiana and Brasenose*, 1905) (see above).

K. H. BAILEY (*Victoria and Corpus Christi*, 1918), Solicitor-General, Commonwealth of Australia.

Dr. F. C. J. MARIUS BARBEAU (*Quebec and Oriel*, 1907), Ethnologist and Folk-Lorist to the Canadian Government.

BRAND BLANSHARD (*Michigan and Merton*, 1913), Professor of Philosophy, Yale University.

The Hon. A. VAN DE S. CENTLIVRES (*South African College School and New College*, 1907), Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa.

Sir HOWARD FLOREY (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1921) (see above), also Hon. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge.

The Hon. J. W. FULBRIGHT (*Arkansas and Pembroke*, 1925), United States Senator and author of the Bill which established the Fulbright Scholarships.

Sir EDMUND HERRING (*Victoria and New College*, 1912) (see above).

The late Rt. Hon. JAN H. HOFMEYR (*South African College School and Balliol*, 1910).

The late Dr. EDWIN P. HUBBLE (*Illinois and Queen's*, 1910), Astronomer, of Mount Wilson and Palomar.

Dr. WILDER G. PENFIELD, O.M. (*New Jersey and Merton*, 1914) (see above).

His Excellency J. E. READ (*Nova Scotia and University*, 1910), Judge of the International Court.

Sir DAVID RIVETT (*Victoria and Lincoln*, 1907) (see above).

H. J. ROSE, F.B.A. (*Quebec and Balliol*, 1904), Emeritus Professor of Greek, St. Andrews University, Scotland; Hon. Fellow of Exeter College.¹

Honorary Degrees

Of those mentioned in the preceding list, 9 have been recipients of Honorary Degrees from the University of Oxford, viz. Dr. AYDELOTTE (D.C.L.), Dr. BARBEAU (D.Litt.), Chief

¹ Add (April 1955):

H. A. MOE (*U.S.A.-at-Large and Brasenose*, 1919), Secretary and Secretary-General, John Simon Guggenheim Foundation.

J. M. HARLAN (*New Jersey and Balliol*, 1920), Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Justice CENTLIVRES (D.C.L.), Mr. Justice J. E. READ (D.C.L.), Dr. WILDER PENFIELD (D.Sc.), Senator FULBRIGHT (D.C.L.), Sir EDMUND HERRING (D.C.L.), the late JAN H. HOFMEYR (D.C.L.), the late Dr. EDWIN P. HUBBLE (D.Sc.); together with N. A. ROBERTSON (*British Columbia and Balliol, 1923*), High Commissioner for Canada in the United Kingdom (D.C.L.).

FELLOWS OF COLLEGES

Twenty-three Rhodes Scholars have at one time and another been elected Fellows (other than Professorial Fellows) of different Colleges at Oxford, 9 from Australia, 5 from South Africa, 4 from the United States, 3 from Canada and 2 from New Zealand. Four of these have been elected to Fellowships, other than Professorial Fellowships, of All Souls—viz. J. G. ARCHIBALD (*Quebec and New College, 1904*), P. C. CORBETT (*Quebec and Balliol, 1915*), Sir KEITH HANCOCK (*Australia-at-Large and Balliol, 1920*) and the late R. T. E. LATHAM (*Victoria and Magdalen, 1931*) (killed on active service, 1943). A number of other Rhodes Scholars have held University Readerships, Lecturerships and Demonstratorships. Tutorial Fellowships are at present held by 4 Rhodes Scholars—viz. G. L. CAWKWELL (*New Zealand and Christ Church, 1946*) (University), J. S. DE WET (*Cape Province and Balliol, 1935*) (Balliol), E. W. GRAY (*South Australia and Christ Church, 1932*) (Student of Christ Church) and A. M. HONORÉ (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and New College, 1940*) (Queen's).¹

Senior Demyships of Magdalen College have been won by 7 Rhodes Scholars (4 Americans, 2 Australians and 1 South African), the Senior Hulme Scholarship of Brasenose College by 4 (2 Australians, 2 South Africans), the Harmsworth Scholarship of Merton College by 2 (1 Canadian, 1 Australian), Studentships of Nuffield College by 7 (3 Americans, 1 Canadian, 1 Australian, 1 South African and 1 Indian).

¹ Add (1955):

G. V. SMITHERS (*Natal and Hertford, 1930*, Reader in English Language, University of Oxford), Professorial Fellow, Merton College.

A. E. GOTLIB (*Manitoba and Christ Church, 1951*), Fellow of Wadham College.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS, PRIZES, ETC.

The prizes and awards won by Rhodes Scholars in different Colleges for good work in studies or in leadership are too numerous to mention in detail, and the following list is confined to competitive prizes offered by the University in accordance with a large variety of special benefactions. For convenience, these distinctions are listed in the alphabetical order of their names, without any attempt to distinguish between them in point of prestige, intensity of competition or monetary value. All Oxford men, however, will know that some are of greater honorific quality than others. The figures indicate in each case the number of Rhodes Scholars who have won the distinction by competition:

Matthew Arnold Memorial Prize (English Essay). 3 (2 U.S.A., 1 Australia).

Arteaga Essay Prize (Spanish). 1 (Canada).

Beit Senior Research Fellowship (Colonial History). 5 (2 Canada, 1 Australia, 1 New Zealand, 1 U.S.A.).

Beit Memorial Fellowship for Medical Research. 4 (2 Australia, 1 Newfoundland, 1 U.S.A.).

Beit Prize (Colonial History). 4 (2 Canada, 1 U.S.A., 1 Australia).

Boden Sanskrit Scholarship. 1 (Canada).

Brassey Studentship (History). 1 (Canada) in 1905. This Studentship has since been discontinued.

Burdett-Coutts Scholarship (Geology). 4 (1 Canada, 1 Australia, 1 New Zealand, 1 U.S.A.).

Cecil Peace Prize (Essay). 2 (1 Australia, 1 U.S.A.).

Chancellor's English Essay Prize. 2 (U.S.A.).

Chancellor's Latin Prize. 1 (Canada).

Davis Scholarship (Chinese). 1 (U.S.A.).

Eldon Law Scholarship. 3 (Australia).

Gibbs Scholarship (Modern History). 1 (Australia).

Gladstone Essay Prize (Political History and Theory). 3 (2 Canada, 1 U.S.A.).

Francis Gotch Prize (Physiology). 5 (3 Australia, 2 Canada).

Canon Hall Greek Testament Prize (Junior). 1 (U.S.A.).

Heath Harrison Scholarship (Modern Languages). 3 (2 New Zealand, 1 Australia).

Robert Herbert Memorial Prize (Colonial History) (associated with the Beit Prize, q.v. above). 5 (4 Canada, 1 U.S.A.).

George Herbert Hunt Travelling Scholarship (Medicine). 1 (Canada).

Ireland and Craven Scholarship (Classics). 1 (Canada).

Mathematical (Senior) Scholarship. 1 (South Africa).

George Webb Medley Scholarships (Economics) (Senior and Junior). 6 (3 U.S.A., 1 Canada, 1 Australia, 1 South Africa).

Newdigate Prize for English Verse. 4 (2 Canada, 1 Australia, 1 U.S.A.). 1 Prox. acc. (Canada).

Charles Oldham Scholarship (Shakespeare). 2 (1 Australia, 1 New Zealand).

Charles Oldham Prize (Classical Literature). 1 (U.S.A.).

Henry Francis Pelham Studentship (at British School in Rome). 1 (Australia).

Radcliffe Prize (Furtherance of Medical Science). 4 (3 Canada, 1 South Africa).

Radcliffe Travelling Fellowship (Medicine). 1 (New Zealand).

Rolleston Memorial Prize (Medicine and Anthropology). 2 (Australia).

Scott Scholarship (Physics). 3 (1 Australia, 1 New Zealand, 1 U.S.A.).

Stanhope Historical Essay. 1 (U.S.A.).

Vinerian Law Scholarship. 15 (5 Australia, 5 U.S.A., 3 Canada, 2 South Africa).

Philip Walker Studentship (Pathology). 1 (Australia).

Christopher Welch Scholarship (Biology). 2 (1 Australia, 1 U.S.A.).

Theodore Williams Scholarships (Anatomy, Physiology and Pathology). 8 (3 South Africa, 2 Canada, 2 Australia, 1 Jamaica).

VOCATIONS OF RHODES SCHOLARS

General Note. In giving an account of the occupations which Rhodes Scholars have followed in what Mr. Rhodes called 'after-

life', one is again obliged to be somewhat arbitrary. Many Rhodes Scholars have changed their vocations from time to time—for example, not a few have begun in academic work and have later gone into other professions. Many others might be classified under one of several heads—thus, most of those who have become known as authors, either of learned works or of general (including 'creative') literature in prose or verse, have not been engaged in writing as a whole-time occupation. The majority of those who have been concerned in politics in different countries have had a separate profession, especially law. Again, there is a considerable group whom it is difficult to classify under any of the ordinary vocations, and these I have to place under the colourless heading of 'Miscellaneous', with only an inadequate indication of the variety of their pursuits.

In what follows I have adopted the plan of reckoning each Rhodes Scholar in the vocation with which he has been specially identified, but if he has had several distinct careers (as has often happened) I have not hesitated to reckon him in several different capacities. This necessarily means that the figures given here for different branches of 'after-life' will not tally with the number of Rhodes Scholars elected. The method, I must admit, is rough-and-ready, but it may serve to give a general picture of the occupations to which Rhodes Scholars have devoted themselves, and that is my aim rather than a precise statistical computation—which is, indeed, impracticable.

The various headings which I have chosen—again arbitrarily—for classification are given in alphabetical order, with explanatory notes where they seem to be necessary.

I. ACADEMIC TEACHING

Under this heading are placed those Rhodes Scholars whose *principal* occupation is, or has been, teaching in Universities, Colleges and comparable institutions. Many, and especially medical men and lawyers, are qualified in, and sometimes practise, other professions, but are to be regarded as primarily instructors in their subjects.

I do not attempt to distinguish between different academic ranks, such as Associate, Assistant and full Professor. Still less do I attempt the difficult and invidious task of discriminating between the standing and reputations of academic Rhodes Scholars in their different fields of specialization. It is enough to say that high reputations for learning have been established by a considerable group of Rhodes Scholars—including, indeed, some reputations which are world-wide; but to venture on any kind of hierarchy or qualitative analysis would require greater hardihood and much greater knowledge than I should presume to claim. The names of those who stand highest in the world of learning are, in any case, sufficiently well known to their fellow-scholars.

The total number of Rhodes Scholars who have adopted the academic vocation is 618, of whom 58 are deceased. It may be of interest to tabulate the different subjects which they have taught:

Administration (Business), 3; Agriculture (including Agronomy and Animal Husbandry), 4; Anthropology, 8; Astronomy, 1; Botany and Plant Physiology, 6; Chemistry, 16; Classics, 51; Ecology, 1; Economics, 40; Education, 6; Engineering (including Mechanics and Mining and Electrical Engineering), 10; English (including Literature and American Literature), 118; Forestry, 1; Genetics, 1; Geography, 2; Geology, 1; Government, 12; History (Modern, including Economic History), 79; Law (including International Law), 43; Mathematics, 22; Medicine (all branches), 42; Mineralogy, 1; Modern Languages (including Romance Languages), 30; Music, 1; Oriental Studies (Chinese), 1; Philosophy, 28; Physics, 20; Political Science, 28; Psychology, 6; Sanskrit, 1; Slavonic Studies, 1; Social Studies, 5; Theology (including New Testament History, New Testament Greek, Hebrew, Church History and Missions), 18; Zoology, 4. In addition, 7 have been engaged in University administration, as Registrars, Assistants to Presidents, etc.

‘Arts’ or ‘humane’ teachers predominate by more than 300 per cent over natural scientists, the largest single group being in

English Language and Literature and associated literary studies (116). Modern History comes second (81) and the Classics (51) in the next place.

Heads of Universities

One of the most interesting features of the academic record of Rhodes Scholars is the number, especially in the United States, who have become Heads of Universities and other institutions of higher education. At the present time 24 Rhodes Scholars are Heads (President, Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, etc.) of Universities in different countries, as follows:

United States (17). (Listed in order of seniority of Rhodes Scholars)

Jacksonville Junior College (J. A. BROWN, *New Hampshire and New College*, 1904).

Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, Va. (B. R. LACY, *North Carolina and Worcester*, 1907).

University of Alabama (O. C. CARMICHAEL, *Alabama and Wadham*, 1913) (see p. 254 below).

Vanderbilt University (HARVIE BRANSCOMB, *Alabama and Wadham*, 1914).

Atlantic Christian College (H. S. HILLEY, *Kentucky and Jesus*, 1914).

State University of Iowa (V. M. HANCHER, *Iowa and Worcester*, 1918).

Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. (A. C. JACOBS, *Michigan and Oriel*, 1921, formerly Chancellor of the University of Denver and sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford).

Oberlin College (W. E. STEVENSON, *New Jersey and Balliol*, 1922).

Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga. (J. McD. RICHARDS, *North Carolina and Christ Church*, 1923).

Wilson College, Pa. (P. S. HAVENS, *New Jersey and University*, 1925).

Pomona College, Cal. (E. WILSON LYON, *Mississippi and St. John's*, 1925).

Kenyon College, Ohio (G. K. CHALMERS, *Rhode Island and Wadham*, 1926).

Tennessee Polytechnic Institute (W. E. DERRYBERRY, *Tennessee and St. John's*, 1928).

Purdue University, Ind. (F. L. HOVDE, *North Dakota and Brasenose*, 1929).

University of Maryland (WILSON H. ELKINS, *Texas and Oriel*, 1933, formerly President of Texas Western College).

Swarthmore College (COURTNEY C. SMITH, *Iowa and Merton*, 1938).

In addition, 15 other Rhodes Scholars, of whom 2 are deceased, have in the past been Heads for a time of the following Universities and Colleges in U.S.A.: Reed College, Oregon (R. F. SCHOLZ, *Wisconsin and Worcester*, 1904, decd. 1924); University of Florida (J. J. TIGERT, *Tennessee and Pembroke*, 1904, retired 1947); Swarthmore College (F. AYDELOTTE (1921-40), *Indiana and Brasenose*, 1905, and J. W. NASON (1940-53), *Minnesota and Oriel*, 1928); Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (F. AYDELOTTE, 1939-47, retired); Union College, Schenectady (F. P. DAY, *New Brunswick and Christ Church*, 1905, decd. 1950); Averett College, Va. (1917-21), and Columbia Military Academy, Tenn. (1921-25) (C. E. CROSLAND, *Alabama and Wadham*, 1910); Illinois College, Jacksonville (H. G. HUDSON, *Illinois and Queen's*, 1911); Bard College (C. H. GRAY, *Washington and Lincoln*, 1914); St. John's College (F. STRINGFELLOW BARR, *Virginia and Balliol*, 1917); Haverford College (F. M. MORLEY, *Maryland and New College*, 1919); University of Nevada (J. O. MOSELEY, *Oklahoma and Merton*, 1917); University of Oklahoma (J. A. BRANDT, *Oklahoma and Lincoln*, 1921); University of Rochester (A. VALENTINE, *Pennsylvania and Balliol*, 1922); University of Arkansas (J. W. FULBRIGHT, *Arkansas and Pembroke*, 1925); University of Denver (C. F. GATES, *New Jersey and Balliol*, 1926); Bethany College, Kan. (E. K. LINDQUIST, *Kansas and Jesus*, 1930). C. H. HARING (*Massachusetts and New College*, 1907) was Master of Dunster House, Harvard, from 1934 to 1948; MASON HAMMOND

(*Massachusetts and Balliol, 1925*) is Master of Kirkland House, Harvard, and T. C. MENDENHALL (*Wisconsin and Balliol, 1933*) of Berkeley College, Yale.

England (1)

University of Birmingham (R. S. AITKEN, *New Zealand and Balliol, 1924*, formerly Regius Professor of Medicine, University of Aberdeen, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Otago, N.Z., 1948-52).

Canada (1)

University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, P.Q. (A. R. JEWITT, *Nova Scotia and Corpus Christi, 1927*).

Australia (2)

University of Melbourne (G. W. PATON, *Victoria and Magdalen, 1926*).

Canberra University College (H. BURTON, *Queensland and Queen's, 1922*).

Hong Kong (1)

University of Hong Kong (Col. L. T. RIDE, C.B.E., *Victoria and New College, 1922*).

Sudan (1)

University College of Khartoum (L. C. WILCHER, *South Australia and Balliol, 1930*).

Other Institutions

Some 18 Rhodes Scholars have been Heads of other institutions of higher or technical education, such as seminaries, technical and agricultural colleges and medical research institutes. Of these 13 at present hold such appointments, 5 in Australia, 4 in U.S.A., 2 in South Africa, 1 in England and 1 in Brazil.

2. ACCOUNTANTS AND ACTUARIES

Of these there have been 9, 2 of whom are deceased.

3. AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Six, of whom 3 are Principals of Agricultural Institutes or Colleges (E. A. SOUTHEE, *New South Wales and St. John's*, 1913; R. N. McCULLOCH, *New South Wales and New College*, 1926 (succeeding A. R. CALLAGHAN, C.M.G., *New South Wales and St. John's*, 1925); and W. J. GARNETT, *Ontario and New College*, 1933).

4. ANTHROPOLOGISTS

There have been 3, other than those holding teaching posts. Of these, F. E. WILLIAMS (*South Australia and Balliol*, 1915), who did distinguished work as Government Anthropologist in Australia and Papua, was killed in an aircraft accident in 1943. Of the surviving two, T. K. PENNIMAN (*Vermont and Trinity*, 1917), well known for his writings, is Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford.

5. ARCHAEOLOGIST

One.

6. ARCHITECT

One.

7. BUSINESS AND BANKING

Commerce, in one or other of its many branches, has attracted 239 Rhodes Scholars, of whom 34 are deceased and 8 have retired. A number of these men have risen to positions of high executive responsibility. C. E. NEWTON (*New Hampshire and Brasenose*, 1920) has been President of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Co.; C. E. SALTZMAN (*Maryland, West Point and Magdalen*, 1925) was formerly Secretary and Vice-President of the New York Stock Exchange; while others in the United States too numerous to name are presidents, vice-presidents and directors of various flourishing banks and commercial corporations. In Canada, HENRY BORDEN, Q.C. (*Nova Scotia and Exeter*,

1924), son of a former Prime Minister of Canada and a double Blue at Oxford, is President of the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Co. and a Director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce; while A. E. GRAUER (*British Columbia and University*, 1927), an Olympic lacrosse player, is President of the British Columbia Power Corporation, Ltd., and the British Columbia Electric Railway Co., Ltd., besides being chairman of various other companies.¹

Since profit is the purpose of business, and since Cecil Rhodes believed in money as a means to influence, it is worth mentioning that, although many Rhodes Scholars have attained considerable worldly prosperity, none, so far as is known, has achieved wealth on the grand or Rhodes scale. If any ever does so, will his thoughts perhaps turn in the same direction as those of Cecil Rhodes?

8. CHEMISTS

(*other than those teaching this science, being chiefly in industry*)
These number 46, of whom 4 are deceased.

9. CLERGY (including MISSIONARIES)

These number 62, of whom 14 are deceased and 2 have retired. Six have been missionaries in various foreign fields; several others have engaged in school teaching. The highest ecclesiastical rank was reached by the late Rt. Rev. L. R. SHERMAN (*New Brunswick and Christ Church*, 1909), who, after being Bishop of Calgary for sixteen years, was Archbishop of Rupert's Land from 1943 to the time of his death in 1953. The Rt. Rev. BEVERLEY D. TUCKER (*Virginia and Christ Church*, 1905) was Bishop of Ohio from 1938 until his retirement in 1953. As has been mentioned, the Very Rev. JOHN LOWE (*Ontario and Christ Church*, 1922) is Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and the Rev. C. A. SIMPSON (*Prince Edward Island and Christ Church*, 1916) is Canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford. (It will be seen that

¹ Add (1955): J. E. COYNE (*Manitoba and Queen's*, 1931), Governor of the Bank of Canada; and J. R. BEATTIE (*Manitoba and Queen's*, 1930), Deputy-Governor of the same.

Rhodes Scholars have well maintained the theological tradition of Christ Church.) From 1922 to 1953, when he retired, the late Rev. W. L. SPERRY (*Michigan and Queen's*, 1904) was Dean of the Divinity School, Harvard. Heads of Theological Seminaries are included above under 'Heads of Universities'.

10. COLONIAL SERVICE

Rhodes Scholars to the number of 37 (5 deceased, 3 retired) have held official appointments in the Colonial Service in different parts of the world, but chiefly in Africa. This group contains the only Rhodes Scholar who has reached the rank of a Colonial Governor, Sir JOHN WADDINGTON (*Bermuda and Merton*, 1909, see p. 225 above). Sir ALLAN SMITH (*Bermuda and St. John's*, 1912, see p. 225 above) was formerly Chief Justice of Sierra Leone, Sir CECIL CUMINGS (*Rhodesia and New College*, 1924, see p. 224 above) was formerly Chief Justice of the Sudan, Sir J. TROUNSELL GILBERT (*Bermuda and Brasenose*, 1907) is Chief Justice of Bermuda and E. D. HONE (*Rhodesia and New College*, 1939), formerly Colonial Secretary, British Honduras, is Chief Secretary, Aden.

11. DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR

This form of service, so appropriate for Rhodes Scholars, has attracted 69 of them (4 deceased), and of recent years has claimed more and more, especially in the Departments of External Affairs of Canada and Australia. Some 17 have represented their countries in diplomatic capacities; their names and appointments are given in order of seniority as Rhodes Scholars.

Sir RICHARD NOSWORTHY (*Jamaica and Christ Church*, 1905, see p. 225 above), formerly British Minister to Bolivia and Commercial Minister to the British Embassy, Rio de Janeiro and Rome.

S. K. HORNBECK (*Colorado and Christ Church*, 1904), formerly Chief, Division of Far Eastern Affairs, U.S. Department of State, later Adviser on Political Relations; U.S. Ambassador to the Netherlands, 1944-47.

G. B. STOCKTON (*Florida and Christ Church*, 1914), Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Australia, 1930-33.

B. M. HULLEY (*Florida and Christ Church*, 1917), Chief, Division of N. European Affairs, U.S. Department of State, attached American Embassy, London, 1948-54.

T. W. L. MACDERMOT (*Quebec and New College*, 1918), Canadian Ambassador to Greece and to Israel.

Sir ALAN WATT (*New South Wales and Oriel*, 1921), formerly Australian Ambassador to U.S.S.R., Australian Commissioner, Singapore (with personal rank of Ambassador).

D. MOFFAT JOHNSON (*Quebec and Balliol*, 1923), formerly High Commissioner for Canada to Pakistan, Permanent Canadian Delegate to the United Nations.

A. D. P. HEENEY (*Manitoba and St. John's*, 1923), Canadian Ambassador to the United States of America.

N. A. ROBERTSON (*British Columbia and Balliol*, 1923), High Commissioner for Canada to the U.K., 1941-46, and since 1952.

LEIF EGELAND (*Natal and Trinity*, 1924, formerly Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford), High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa to the U.K., 1948-50.

W. WALTON BUTTERWORTH (*Louisiana and Worcester*, 1924), formerly Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, United States Ambassador to Sweden, 1950-53, Minister and Deputy Chief, U.S. Mission, London.

J. D. L. HOOD (*Tasmania and Magdalen*, 1926), Australian Minister to Indonesia, 1950-52, Australian Ambassador to the German Federal Republic and Head of the Australian Military Mission to Germany.

ESCOTT M. REID (*Ontario and Christ Church*, 1927), High Commissioner for Canada to the Republic of India.

DEAN RUSK (*North Carolina and St. John's*, 1931), Deputy Under-Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, 1949-52.

L. R. MCINTYRE (*Tasmania and Exeter*, 1933), Senior External Affairs Representative (with rank of Minister), Office of the High Commissioner for Australia, London.

LINCOLN GORDON (*New York and Balliol*, 1933), United States Minister for Economic Affairs, American Embassy, London.

G. C. MCGHEE (*Oklahoma and Queen's*, 1934), United States Ambassador to Turkey, 1951-53.

Eleven of the German Rhodes Scholars (4 deceased) entered the Diplomatic or Consular Services. Notable among them were Count ALBRECHT BERNSTORFF (*Trinity*, 1909), formerly First Secretary to the German Embassy in London, and ADAM VON TROTT ZU SOLZ (*Balliol*, 1931), both of whom, as opponents of the Nazi régime, suffered death at the hands of the Gestapo; while Baron MARSHALL VON BIEBERSTEIN (*Christ Church*, 1913), formerly Secretary of Legation, fell into Russian hands in 1945 and is believed (if alive) to be still held a prisoner.

12. ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS

Rhodes Scholars in this vocation, which in most cases is associated with business or banking concerns, number 20, of whom one is deceased.

13. ENGINEERS

In different branches of engineering—general, mining, electrical, highways, consulting and surveying—79 Rhodes Scholars have been engaged. Seven are deceased and one has retired.

14. FARMING AND RANCHING

Thirty-six Rhodes Scholars have 'gone on the land', in many instances after, or concurrently with, other occupations. Four are deceased.

15. FORESTRY

The 19 Rhodes Scholar foresters (5 deceased, 1 retired) have all been in Forestry Services in different countries and are here reckoned separately from the Colonial Service. The late Lord ROBINSON (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1905, see p. 223 above)

was Director-General of the Forestry Commission in England and Sir HERBERT HOWARD (*Rhodesia and Exeter*, 1908, see p. 225 above) was formerly Inspector-General of Forests to the Government of India.

16. GEOLOGISTS AND GEOPHYSICISTS

These number 15 (3 deceased, 1 retired), who are chiefly mining, oil and consulting practitioners. The late C. T. MADIGAN (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1911) did important work in reconnaissance of the geology of Central Australia.

17. GOVERNMENT AND INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

This is a very wide category and includes those who have worked, under the Governments of different countries, as specialists in many different departments of the modern State—such as agriculture, education, customs revenue, native affairs, economics, trigonometrical survey, pensions, national film boards, the United States High Court Commission, commerce, labour relations, legal services. Nothing has been more notable in recent years than the increasing number of Rhodes Scholars who have entered national and international organizations, and, taken in conjunction with those who have devoted themselves to foreign affairs (see under 'DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR') and politics (see p. 248 below), they make a very substantial contribution to that 'public service' which Mr. Rhodes specified as the highest aim for his Scholars—though there are, of course, many other vocations which can and do contribute to the same end.

167 Rhodes Scholars may be grouped under this heading, of whom 15 are deceased and 5 have retired. Twelve are at present attached to various international organizations—the I.L.O., the Inter-Allied Reparation Commission, the United Nations (a pleasing variety here—2 U.S.A., 1 Canada, 1 New Zealand, 1 South Africa), U.N.E.S.C.O., the International Bank, E.C.A., the Mutual Security Agency, the International Children's Emergency Fund.

It is, perhaps, a little invidious to discriminate between the

distinction and responsibilities of these public servants in so many different fields, but there are some whose names are outstanding. C. D. MAHAFFIE (*Oklahoma and St. John's*, 1905) has been for long past a member, twice Chairman, and now Chairman of the Administrative and Finance Divisions of that very important body, the Interstate Commerce Commission. H. SOMERVILLE SMITH, C.M.G., D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C. (*Ontario and New College*, 1912), was formerly Comptroller-General of the Export Credits Guarantee Department, London (retired 1952). W. F. CRAWFORD, C.M.G., O.B.E. (*New South Wales and New College*, 1915), is Head of the Development Division, British Middle East Office, Cairo. K. H. BAILEY, C.B.E. (*Victoria and Corpus Christi*, 1918), is Solicitor-General to the Commonwealth of Australia. H. T. P. BINET (*New Brunswick and Exeter*, 1921) is Director of the International Labour Office, Geneva. GRAHAM SPRY (*Manitoba and University*, 1922) is Agent-General for the Government of Saskatchewan in the U.K. W. P. MADDOX (*Maryland and Hertford*, 1922) is Director of the Foreign Service Institute, U.S. Department of State. Sir ROBERT HALL (*Queensland and Magdalen*, 1923, see p. 224 above) is Economic Adviser to H.M. Government. Sir ROLAND WILSON (*Tasmania and Oriel*, 1925) is Secretary to the Commonwealth Treasury, Australia. E. E. BAILEY, C.B., C.B.E. (*New Zealand and Magdalen*, 1929), is Principal Finance Officer to the Ministry of Food, London. L. G. HOPKINS, O.B.E. (*Queensland and Balliol*, 1932), is Chief Statistical Officer to the Commonwealth of Australia. In the international sphere, B. E. LANE TIMMONS (*Georgia and Balliol*, 1938) is Deputy Director, E.C.A. Mission to France.¹

¹ Add (April 1955):

R. W. BURGESS (*Rhode Island and Lincoln*, 1908), Under-Secretary of the United States Treasury.

E. RUSSELL HOPKINS (*Saskatchewan and Queen's*, 1932), Secretary and Director-General, Board of Transport Commission of Canada.

J. H. INGHAM (*Rhodesia and Bransose*, 1932), Secretary for African Affairs, Nyasaland.

L. A. LARSON (*South Dakota and Pembroke*, 1932), United States Under-Secretary of Labour.

J. R. BALDWIN (*Ontario and Christ Church*, 1934), Deputy Minister of Transport, Air, Canada.

D. A. GOLDEN (*Manitoba and Queen's*, 1941), Deputy Minister, Department of Defence Production, Canada.

18. INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

Three (1 deceased, 2 retired).

19. JOURNALISM

Many Rhodes Scholars have, of course, engaged in occasional journalism, but the 65 (6 deceased) who are placed under this heading are those who have made it their regular profession. A number of them have made reputations as editors, contributors and commentators. ELMER DAVIS (*Indiana and Queen's*, 1910) is mentioned under the heading 'WRITING, ETC.', p. 251 below. R. P. BRANDT (*Missouri and Lincoln*, 1918) is well known as the political commentator of the St. Louis *Post-Despatch* and as head of its bureau at Washington. CLARENCE K. STREIT (*Montana and University*, 1918), famous as author of *Union Now*, continues to preach his gospel as President of Federal Union, Inc., and Editor of *Freedom and Union*. E. K. LINDLEY (*Idaho and Pembroke*, 1920) has a large public both as a journalist and a radio commentator. G. V. FERGUSON (*Alberta and Christ Church*, 1921) is Editor of the *Montreal Daily Star*. J. W. SAGMASTER (*Ohio and Lincoln*, 1925) both writes and broadcasts from Cincinnati with authority. Perhaps the best-known editorship is held by E. D. CANHAM (*Maine and Oriel*, 1926), of the *Christian Science Monitor*. T. J. HAMILTON (*Georgia and Christ Church*, 1928) has been foreign correspondent of the *New York Times* in various countries and is now Chief of its United Nations Bureau. G. S. COX (*New Zealand and Oriel*, 1932) has been a widely-known war correspondent and is Assistant Editor of the *London News Chronicle*. J. FISCHER (*Oklahoma and Lincoln*, 1933) is, at the early age of forty-three, Editor-in-Chief of *Harper's Magazine*. P. BEUKES (*Orange Free State and Lincoln*, 1934) is Editor of *Die Suiderstem* and director of a group of associated newspapers in Cape Town. H. W. DONOVAN (*Minnesota and Hertford*, 1934) is Managing Editor of *Fortune* magazine.

20. LAW

Next to academic teaching, this profession has claimed the largest number of Rhodes Scholars—488 in all, of whom 68 are deceased and 7 have retired.

The success of Rhodes Scholars as lawyers is sufficiently shown by the number—no less than 47 (7 deceased, 3 retired)—who hold or have held judgeships in various countries. Of these 15 have been Chief Justices, Judge-Presidents or other judicial officers of similar rank. They are as follows:

International Court. J. E. READ (*Nova Scotia and University*, 1910), Hon. Bencher of Gray's Inn.

South Africa. A. VAN DE S. CENTLIVRES (*South African College School and New College*, 1907, see p. 227 above), Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa; G. J. MARITZ (*Stellenbosch and Trinity*, 1909), Judge-President of the Transvaal; F. N. BROOME (*Natal and Oriel*, 1909), Judge-President of Natal.

Southern Rhodesia. The late VERNON LEWIS, C.M.G. (*South African College School and New College*, 1906), Chief Justice, 1950 (deceased in the same year); Sir ROBERT TREDGOLD, K.C.M.G. (*Rhodesia and Hertford*, 1919), Chief Justice since 1950.

Bermuda. Sir J. TROUNSELL GILBERT, C.B.E. (*Bermuda and Brase-nose*, 1907), Chief Justice since 1952.

The Sudan. Sir CECIL CUMINGS (*Rhodesia and New College*, 1924), Chief Justice, 1946 (retired).

Sierra Leone. Sir ALLAN SMITH (*Bermuda and St. John's*, 1912), Chief Justice, 1951-54.

Australia. Sir EDMUND HERRING (*Victoria and New College*, 1912, see p. 221 above), Chief Justice of Victoria; N. W. MACROSSAN (*Queensland and Magdalen*, 1907), Chief Justice of Queensland.

Canada. T. A. CAMPBELL (*Prince Edward Island and Corpus Christi*, 1917), Chief Justice of Prince Edward Island; J. T. THORSON (*Manitoba and New College*, 1910), President, Exchequer Court of Canada.

Scotland. The Rt. Hon. Lord THOMSON (*South African College School and Corpus Christi, 1911*, see p. 223 above), Lord Justice Clerk.

*United States.*¹ G. T. WASHINGTON (*Connecticut and Oriel, 1929*), Judge of the United States Court of Appeals; J. C. SHERBURNE (*Vermont and Wadham, 1904*), Chief Justice of Vermont, 1949-55.

The other Rhodes Scholar judges, of whom 6 are deceased, have been distributed as follows: United States, 10; South Africa, 7; Canada, 4; Australia, 4; Southern Rhodesia, 2; Newfoundland, 2; Germany, 2; Egypt (Mixed Court), 1; Malaya, 1.

The lawyers are evenly divided in the English-speaking world, 246 coming from British constituencies and 242 from the United States. Of the former, 55, or nearly a quarter, have held the rank of King's or Queen's Counsel, and this represents an even higher proportion among British barristers, since many of the 246 British lawyers practise as solicitors only (though in some constituencies as both barristers and solicitors). There is, of course, no corresponding hall-mark in the United States to indicate a lawyer's standing in his profession, but if there were, there would undoubtedly be as many 'silks' among legal Rhodes Scholars in America as elsewhere, for many are members of firms of large practice and high repute.

A few other legal distinctions and appointments of Rhodes Scholars are worthy of mention. K. H. BAILEY (*Victoria and Corpus Christi, 1918*), as already noted, is Solicitor-General to the Commonwealth of Australia, and V. L. ROBINSON (*Rhodesia and Keble, 1918*) Attorney-General, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The late T. A. L. DAVY (*Western Australia and Exeter, 1909*) was Attorney-General of Western Australia, and the late R. J. RUDALL (*South Australia and Christ Church, 1908*) Attorney-General of South Australia. P. J. C. SMITH (*Bermuda and St. Edmund Hall, 1942*) was Solicitor-General of Bermuda 1952-54. F. E. HOLMAN (*Utah and Exeter, 1908*) was President of the

¹ Add (1955): J. M. HARLAN (*New Jersey and Balliol, 1920*), Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

American Bar Association for 1948-49 and A. N. CARTER, Q.C. (*New Brunswick and University*, 1913, father of two Rhodes Scholars), was President of the Canadian Bar Association for the same year.

21. LIBRARIANS

Six Rhodes Scholars, of whom 2 are deceased.

22. MEDICINE

This category of course includes Surgery, together with Public Health, and appointments in Ministries of Health and in such organizations as the Rockefeller Foundation. For the most part, those who are principally concerned in the teaching of different branches of medical science are reckoned under the heading 'ACADEMIC', but a few of these who are also noteworthy in the practice of medicine or surgery are placed under the present classification. The line between teaching and practice in this science is not easy to draw, since most medical men of standing and experience are, at some time or other, teachers and examiners of students, either in theory or in clinical work.

171 Rhodes Scholars have been medical practitioners. Out of this number 23 are deceased and 4 have retired. It is impossible here to attempt any evaluation of their professional work and reputations. Three names at least stand out beyond question—those of two world-famous neuro-surgeons, Dr. WILDER PENFIELD, O.M. (*New Jersey and Merton*, 1914, see p. 223 above), Director of the Montreal Neurological Institute, and the late Sir HUGH CAIRNS (*South Australia and Balliol*, 1917, see p. 224 above), who at the time of his premature death was Nuffield Professor of Surgery at Oxford (where in 1920 he had won a Rowing Blue); and Sir HOWARD FLOREY (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1921, see p. 224 above) for his famous work in connection with penicillin. (I have reckoned him under the heading 'ACADEMIC', but his name suggests itself in any account of medical Rhodes Scholars.) Other eminent names in the medical-academic world are those of W. C. DAVISON (*New York*

and Merton, 1913), E. F. HOLMAN (*California and St. John's*, 1914), J. F. FULTON (*Minnesota and Magdalen*, 1921) and J. C. ECCLES (*Victoria and Magdalen*, 1925). From 1933 until his retirement in 1947 E. MCP. ARMSTRONG (*Maryland and Oriel*, 1905) was Medical Director of the Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York. E. H. CLUVER (*Stellenbosch and Hertford*, 1914) is Director of the South African Institute for Medical Research, as well as being Professor of Preventive Medicine in the University of the Witwatersrand. It has already been mentioned that the honour of knighthood has been conferred on two Rhodes Scholars for eminence in the practising medical profession—the late Sir EDMUND BRITTEN JONES (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1912) and Sir ARTHUR PORRITT (*New Zealand and Magdalen*, 1923), a notable runner in his day, formerly President of the O.U.A.C. and twice Captain of the New Zealand Olympic Team. The study of the human organism is not inconsistent with its vigorous personal development, and, while I have not made an exact check, I think I am right in saying that the medical Rhodes Scholars have produced more distinguished athletes than any other group.

23. MINING

This has been the vocation, in managerial capacities, of 7 Rhodes Scholars, of whom 4 are deceased.

24. MUSIC

Four Rhodes Scholars have adopted music as their profession.

25. NAVY, ARMY AND AIR FORCE

The group of those who have adopted the profession of arms is composed principally of the United States Rhodes Scholars elected from Annapolis (Navy) and West Point (Army). Ten have come from the former and 21 from the latter. Four Rhodes Scholars have held regular commissions in England (2 Army, 2 Air Force), the highest rank being that of Air Vice-Marshal J. R. CASSIDY, C.B.E. (*Queensland and Exeter*, 1913); 1 in India,

2 in Canada, 1 in South Africa and 1 in Germany. The last-mentioned is F. R. T. VON SENGER UND ETTERLIN (*St. John's*, 1912), who was, in the last war, Commander of the German Forces in Sicily and Corsica and Commander of the 14th Armoured Corps at the Battles of Cassino and Bologna.

The total number under this head is 40 (7 deceased, 4 retired).

26. POLITICS

The great majority of Rhodes Scholars in this category are not professional or whole-time politicians. Most pursue other vocations, though some have political duties which require the greater part of their time and attention.

It is often suggested that when Mr. Rhodes referred to 'public service', he was thinking primarily of politics, and the criticism is sometimes heard that too few Rhodes Scholars have fulfilled his hope. There are, however, many different kinds of public service, and it is difficult to believe that Mr. Rhodes interpreted the term in any narrow sense. He must have known, as everybody knows, that the very entry into politics depends on the will of the electors, that there is no security of tenure even when entry has been achieved and that success and influence are subject to many uncertain factors which vary greatly from country to country.

Actually, the number of Rhodes Scholars who have engaged in politics is larger than is generally supposed. According to my reckoning, it is 61 (10 deceased), of whom at least a third have gone beyond the back bench and have been entrusted with ministerial or similar responsibilities—not always, of course, in very wide spheres, but in the places where the opportunities lay, which is surely what the Founder would have wished. Including national and local (State, provincial, etc.) legislatures, the distribution has been as follows: U.S.A., 18; Canada, 16; South Africa, 7; Australia, 6; Bermuda, 4; Southern Rhodesia, 3; Great Britain, 2; Malta, 2; Newfoundland, 2; Jamaica, 1; Germany, 1.

The most distinguished career, too early cut off, has been that

of the late Rt. Hon. JAN H. HOFMEYR (*South African College School and Balliol*, 1910), that 'miracle of a young man' (as they said of Christopher Wren), whose name was known throughout the Commonwealth and who, if he had lived, might have been the second Smuts of South Africa and, indeed, of world politics. Only one Rhodes Scholar has reached the United States Senate—J. W. FULBRIGHT (*Arkansas and Pembroke*, 1925), who, as everybody knows, has made a unique mark there. Three American Rhodes Scholars have been elected Members of the House of Representatives—C. R. CLASON (*Maine and Christ Church*, 1914), R. HALE (*Maine and Trinity*, 1910) and C. B. ALBERT (*Oklahoma and St. Peter's Hall*, 1931), the last two being still members at this time of writing. Two Rhodes Scholars have been members of the British House of Commons—Lord THOMSON (*South African College School and Corpus Christi*, 1911), Lord Advocate 1945-47, and J. F. F. PLATTS-MILLS (*New Zealand and Balliol*, 1928), M.P. for Finsbury Borough, 1945-51.

Two Canadian Rhodes Scholars have been Premiers of their Provinces—J. B. McNAIR, Q.C. (*New Brunswick and University*, 1911), Prime Minister of New Brunswick, 1940-52, and T. A. CAMPBELL (*Prince Edward Island and Corpus Christi*, 1917), Premier of Prince Edward Island, 1936-43, until his appointment as Chief Justice. The late NORMAN ROGERS (*Nova Scotia and University*, 1918), after being Minister of Labour for four years in the Canadian Government, was Minister of Defence from 1939 until his untimely death in an aircraft accident in June 1940. He was generally considered to have had a most promising political future.¹

Besides these, I select, in order of their seniority, some names of those who have been active in politics in many different spheres:

H. A. WINTER (*Newfoundland and University*, 1907), formerly Speaker, Acting Prime Minister, Attorney-General and

¹ Add (1955): N. W. MANLEY, Q.C. (*Jamaica and Jesus*, 1914), Premier of Jamaica; D. MINTOFF (*Malta and Hertford*, 1939), Premier of Malta; H. D. HICKS (*Nova Scotia and Exeter*, 1937), Premier of Nova Scotia, formerly Minister of Education.

Commissioner for Home Affairs in Newfoundland, now a Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland.

The late R. J. RUDALL (*South Australia and Christ Church*, 1908), Attorney-General and Minister of Education, South Australia.

The late T. A. L. DAVY, K.C. (*Western Australia and Exeter*, 1909), Attorney-General in Cabinet, Western Australia.

W. S. KENT HUGHES, M.V.O., O.B.E., M.C. (*Victoria and Christ Church*, 1915), Minister of State for the Interior and Minister of Works and Housing in the Federal Government, Australia.

D. R. MICHEENER, Q.C. (*Alberta and Hertford*, 1919), M.P., House of Commons, Canada.

V. H. TREATT (*New South Wales and New College*, 1920), formerly Minister of Justice; Leader of the Opposition, New South Wales.

N. N. NETHERSOLE (*Jamaica and Lincoln*, 1923), Minister of Finance, Jamaica.

J. SINCLAIR (*British Columbia and St. John's*, 1928), Minister of Fisheries, Ottawa.

J. M. GREENFIELD (*Rhodesia and University*, 1929), Minister of Justice, Southern Rhodesia.¹

E. B. JOLLIFFE, Q.C. (*Ontario and Christ Church*, 1931), Leader of the Opposition, Ontario.

E. S. BUSUTTIL (*Malta and Christ Church*, 1942), Speaker of the Malta Parliament.

27. PUBLISHING

Under this heading come 16 Rhodes Scholars (1 deceased, 2 retired). Among them may be mentioned specially K. SISAM, F.B.A. (*New Zealand and Merton*, 1910), well known as an Early English scholar, who was Secretary to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press from 1942 until his retirement in 1948.

¹ (1955): Now Minister of Home Affairs and Education, Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

28. SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL SERVICES

Mr. Rhodes said in the codicil to his last Will that 'education makes the strongest ties'. In addition to those who have been engaged in higher education, 128 have been school teachers (15 deceased, 6 retired), and it is an interesting circumstance that out of this number 44 (3 deceased) have been Headmasters or Principals of their schools. They have been distributed as follows: Australia, 14; South Africa, 8; United States, 8; Canada, 6; Bermuda, 2; Jamaica, 2; Southern Rhodesia, 1; Kenya, 1; Egypt, 1; Germany, 1.

29. SCIENCE (other than Chemistry)

This class comprises 66 Rhodes Scholars (5 deceased, 1 retired), of whom the majority are physicists, not holding academic posts, but pursuing research in various scientific units, such as the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research in Australia or the National Research Council in Canada, besides other national research organizations for peace or war. Others are engaged in industry.

The most honoured name in this group is that of the late EDWIN P. HUBBLE (*Illinois and Queen's*, 1910, see p. 227 above), the astronomer of Mount Wilson and Palomar, whose reputation was world-wide as an explorer of the uttermost heavens. As an expert in soil conservation W. C. LOWDERMILK (*Arizona and Wadham*, 1911) is of international repute. Sir DAVID RIVETT, F.R.S. (*Victoria and Lincoln*, 1907), besides winning many scientific distinctions, for many years directed the policy of the Commonwealth Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

30. WRITING, LECTURING, RADIO, FILMS

This is, I confess, a kind of *omnium gatherum* but will serve to classify the 39 Rhodes Scholars who have been actively engaged in these forms of literary and creative work. Not many, so far as I know, have made literature their sole vocation; among these few is CHRISTOPHER MORLEY (*Maryland and New College*, 1910),

the well-known novelist, satirist and dramatist, who is the eldest of three Rhodes Scholar brothers. Seven have devoted themselves primarily to radio and 3 to films. Of the 7 who have been principally concerned with radio comment and organization, perhaps the best known are ELMER DAVIS (*Indiana and Queen's*, 1910), also a prolific journalist and writer of fiction and other works, and formerly Director, Office of War Information, in which his distinguished service earned the Medal for Merit; HOWARD K. SMITH (*Louisiana and Merton*, 1937), who is European Director of the Columbia Broadcasting System, and whose book, *Last Train from Berlin*, published in 1942, enjoyed a wide success; and CHARLES COLLINGWOOD (*Maryland and New College*, 1939), well-known News Analyst of the Columbia Broadcasting System. W. E. GLADSTONE MURRAY (*Quebec and New College*, 1913) was from 1936 to 1942 the First General Manager of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and for a time was Director-General of Broadcasting for Canada.

Of the small group who have engaged in writing or producing for films, probably the best known, until his untimely death in 1940, was JOHN MONK SAUNDERS (*Washington and Magdalen*, 1918).

Many other Rhodes Scholars, though employed in other vocations (chiefly academic), have made names for themselves as creative writers. Among poets of established reputations one may mention, without disrespect to others not so well known, JOHN CROWE RANSOM (*Tennessee and Christ Church*, 1910), Professor of English, Kenyon College, Ohio; the late R. P. TRISTRAM COFFIN (*Maine and Trinity*, 1916), Professor of English, Bowdoin College, Maine; ROBERT PENN WARREN (*Kentucky and New College*, 1928); and PAUL ENGLE (*Iowa and Merton*, 1933), Professor of English, State University of Iowa. ROBERT PENN WARREN has also been an active and versatile writer of fiction, and the film of his well-known novel, *All the King's Men*, had notable success. Other fiction-writers—to mention only a few—include W. S. CAMPBELL (*Oklahoma and Merton*, 1908), Professor of English, University of Oklahoma, who, under the pen-name

of 'Stanley Vestal', has written many novels of the West and South-West, and especially of American Indians; JAMES SAXON CHILDERS (*Alabama and Worcester*, 1921), Associate Editor, *The Atlanta Journal*, formerly Professor of Literature, Birmingham (Ala.) Southern College; J. H. MACLENNAN (*Canada-at-Large and Oriel*, 1928); JOHN J. ESPEY (*California and Merton*, 1935), Associate Professor of English, University of California at Los Angeles; and D. M. DAVIN (*New Zealand and Balliol*, 1936), Assistant Secretary, Clarendon Press, Oxford. The Rhodes Scholars who have been regular broadcasters on different subjects are too numerous to list in full, but among them are B. S. KEIRSTEAD (*New Brunswick and Exeter*, 1928), Down Professor of Economics, McGill University, who is Political Commentator for the International Service of the C.B.C. BERGEN EVANS (*Ohio and University*, 1928)—also a versatile author—has had much success on television programmes.

So much for what is usually called 'creative' writing; but no account is taken here of the lucubrations of Rhodes Scholars on learned or technical subjects. Their name is legion, and it is regrettable—and the present writer takes his share of the blame—that no exact bibliography has been maintained of all these writings. The labour involved in this task was always somewhat daunting, nor would the result be entirely satisfactory, for there is reason to think that many publications have never been notified. A bibliography compiled in 1932 showed 453 volumes written by American Rhodes Scholars alone. The *Register of Rhodes Scholars*, published in 1950, shows, up to the year 1945, a vast number of volumes published by Rhodes Scholars and ranging in subjects from the monumental *British Empire before the American Revolution*, now in its eighth volume, of Professor L. H. GIPSON (*Idaho and Lincoln*, 1904)—the most massive work produced by any Rhodes Scholar—to detective thrillers and other light entertainments. As for papers, essays and contributions to learned journals—varying, needless to say, in scope and importance—they are as the sands of the sea, and it has always seemed

impracticable, without disproportionate clerical labour, to keep count of them.

31. MISCELLANEOUS

For 58 Rhodes Scholars, of whom 5 are deceased, I can find nothing except this vague and unsatisfactory classification, since they have been occupied in work which lies outside the ordinary professional vocations. Under what heading, for example, can one place the most original of all Rhodes Scholars, the late KINGSLEY FAIRBRIDGE (*Rhodesia and Exeter*, 1908), the founder of the Fairbridge Farm Schools? It is gratifying to note that two Rhodes Scholars were formerly occupied, for considerable periods, in carrying on this work, viz. Fairbridge's own friend, Professor H. T. LOGAN (*British Columbia and St. John's*, 1908), Emeritus Professor of Classics, University of British Columbia, and W. J. GARNETT (*Ontario and New College*, 1933), now Principal of the Norfolk Farm Institute, England; while F. K. S. WOODS (*Orange Free State and Brasenose*, 1929) has been since 1938 Principal of the Fairbridge Farm School at Molong, N.S.W.

It would be wearisome to describe all these varied occupations, but some names call for special mention. WHITNEY H. SHEPARD-SON (*New York and Balliol*, 1910) was until recently head of a section of the Carnegie Corporation and is now President of the National Committee for a Free Europe. E. S. GRIFFITH (*New York and Merton*, 1917), besides being a writer of authority on questions of government, is Director of the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress. H. A. MOE (*United States-at-Large and Brasenose*, 1919), formerly a Fellow of Brasenose College, is Secretary-General and a Trustee of the Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The late W. H. DRANE LESTER (*Mississippi and St. John's*, 1922) is the only Rhodes Scholar to have been an officer of the famous F.B.I. For some ten years O. C. CARMICHAEL (*Alabama and Wadham*, 1913), formerly Chancellor of Vanderbilt University and now of the University of Alabama, was President of the great Carnegie Foundation. At the head of the Rocke-

feller Foundation is DEAN RUSK (*North Carolina and St. John's*, 1931), President at the early age of forty-three, and formerly Deputy Under-Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State; colleagues with him in this great organization are two other Rhodes Scholars, E. F. D'ARMS (*Wisconsin and Oriel*, 1925), Associate Director of the Division of Humanities, and CHADBOURNE GILPATRIC (*New York and Balliol*, 1938), Assistant Director in the same Division. Lt.-Col. J. G. J. KRIGE (*Stellenbosch and Wadham*, 1930) is Inspector of Flying, Civil Aviation Council, Department of Transport, Union of South Africa, while, by way of contrast, A. H. JARVIS (*Ontario and University*, 1938) is head of Oxford House in the East End of London,¹ and D. VON BOTHMER (*Germany and Wadham*, 1938), who fought with the United States Forces and won the Bronze Star Medal and the Purple Heart, is Assistant Curator of Greek and Roman Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, where another Rhodes Scholar of an earlier period, A. H. MAYOR (*New Jersey and Christ Church*, 1923), is Curator of Prints. There are several psychologists, workers in various religious and charitable organizations and in the field of labour relations, some in Chambers of Commerce and similar institutions, several archivists, a few land agents, a Christian Science practitioner, a Town Clerk. I find only one representative of the plastic arts—O. F. DAVISSON (*Connecticut and New College*, 1920), who is a sculptor.

32. UNCLASSIFIED

There are 107 Rhodes Scholars who cannot be classified. Fifty-four of these were killed in action and 21 died before they had been able to establish themselves in any vocation. Most of the remainder are scholars of recent years who are still training for professions but are not yet definitely settled. Some are doing national service. Concerning a few no information is available.

¹ (1955): Now Director of the Canadian National Gallery.

SUMMARY

OF VOCATIONS OF RHODES SCHOLARS

(Note. As explained, p. 231 above, the total in this summary does not correspond with the total number of elections of Rhodes Scholars.)

Academic Teaching	.	.	.	618
Accountants and Actuaries	.	.	.	9
Agriculture and Animal Husbandry	.	.	.	6
Anthropologists	.	.	.	3
Archaeologist	.	.	.	1
Architect	.	.	.	1
Business and Banking	.	.	.	239
Chemists	.	.	.	46
Clergy and Missionaries	.	.	.	62
Colonial Service	.	.	.	37
Diplomatic and Consular	.	.	.	69
Economists and Statisticians	.	.	.	20
Engineers	.	.	.	79
Farming and Ranching	.	.	.	36
Forestry	.	.	.	19
Geologists and Geophysicists	.	.	.	15
Government and International Service	.	.	.	167
Indian Civil Service	.	.	.	3
Journalism	.	.	.	65
Law	.	.	.	488
Librarians	.	.	.	6
Medicine	.	.	.	171
Mining	.	.	.	7
Music	.	.	.	4
Navy, Army and Air Force	.	.	.	40
Politics	.	.	.	62
Publishing	.	.	.	16
Schools and Educational Services	.	.	.	128
Science (other than Chemistry)	.	.	.	66

Writing, Lecturing, Radio, Films	.	39
Miscellaneous	.	58
Unclassified	.	107

ATHLETICS

(Records up to July 1953)

'Success in and fondness for' (the actual preposition was, *per incuriam*, 'of') 'manly sports' was one of the qualifications which Mr. Rhodes required of his Scholars. The importance attached to it has varied from time to time. In the early days of the Scholarships there was a tendency to over-emphasize athletic prowess, at the expense, in some instances, of academic proficiency—though the later careers of most of the early Rhodes Scholars show clearly that the general intellectual standard was not impaired. The Trustees have always taken the view, which they believe was the Founder's, that the importance of athletics lies in a combined vitality of mind and body rather than in spectacular performance. Games of all kinds are an integral part of Oxford undergraduate life and, besides their physical value in the Thames Valley climate, they generally provide an easy introduction to friendships, common interests and the corporate spirit of Colleges. A very large number of Rhodes Scholars row or play games for their Colleges without any hope of ever achieving a Blue, but with great advantage to themselves and others. The fair and moderate spirit in which Oxford games are played is also not without its educational value.

These men, being not 'merely bookworms', fulfil what seems to have been the intention of the testator; but there have been many others who have won distinction in the great variety of sports which Oxford cultivates. Their successes have given some hasty observers the impression that Rhodes Scholars are usually 'more brawn than brain'. The criticism is not borne out by the facts. In my experience it has been rare to find a Rhodes Scholar who has supposed that his chief business at Oxford was to score

athletic successes, to the neglect of his serious work. On the contrary, both as Warden of Rhodes House and previously as a College tutor, I often had occasion to admire the manner in which they combined the two interests, and in that respect they seemed to be an example to many English undergraduates who were much less successful in balancing their activities. The careers of Rhodes Scholars show that there is no necessary antinomy between the physical and the intellectual, for it is remarkable how many who have won high success in games at Oxford have had distinguished careers in later life.

If one reckons Blues and Half-Blues together, which seems to be the most convenient course for present purposes,¹ 646 altogether have been won by Rhodes Scholars up to July 1953. This figure refers to performances, not performers, since many Rhodes Scholars have won more than a single Blue or Half-Blue. These I may mention specially.

Three Rhodes Scholars have achieved the remarkable feat of Quadruple Blues. They are the late R. O. LAGDEN (*South Africa and Oriel*, 1908, killed in action, 1915) (Cricket, Rugby Football, Hockey and Rackets); R. H. JACK (*Pennsylvania and Pembroke*, 1923) (Athletic Sports, Relay Races, Lacrosse and Ice Hockey); and Dr. F. MUNROE BOURNE (*Quebec and University*, 1932) (Relay Races, Swimming, Water Polo and Ski).

Twelve have won Triple Blues. I give their names in order of seniority: the late Lord ROBINSON (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1905) (Cricket, Athletic Sports, Lacrosse); the late W. J. PEARSE (*Quebec and New College*, 1911, killed in action, 1917) (Cross-Country, Lawn Tennis, Lacrosse); W. S. KENT HUGHES (*Victoria and Christ Church*, 1915) (Athletic Sports, Relay Races, Lacrosse, besides representing Australia in the Olympic Games in 1920); T. LAWTON (*Queensland and New College*, 1921) (Rugby Football, Athletic Sports, Swimming); President W. E. STEVENSON (*New*

¹ Full Blues are definitely awarded for some sports, Half-Blues for others. There are a certain number, however, in which the award of Full or Half-Blue depends on particular circumstances—e.g. whether the competitor has been first or second string, or has satisfied other conditions which vary with different games. In the following tabulation these sports are indicated as 'Full or Half'.

Jersey and Balliol, 1922) (Athletic Sports, Relay Races, Lacrosse); President F. L. HOVDE (*North Dakota and Brasenose, 1929*) (Rugby Football, Athletic Sports, Relay Races); Dr. H. G. O. OWEN SMITH (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and Magdalen, 1930*) (Cricket, Rugby Football, Boxing—Captain of England, Rugby, 1937); the late Dr. J. E. LOVELOCK (*New Zealand and Exeter, 1931*) (Athletic Sports, Relay Races, Cross-Country—Olympic Games and World Record for the Mile, 1933); L. R. MCINTYRE (*Tasmania and Exeter, 1933*) (Athletic Sports, Relay Races, Cross-Country (Captain, 1935)); H. MERZ (*Germany and Trinity, 1937*) (Athletic Sports, Hockey, Ski); B. H. TRAVERS (*New South Wales and New College, 1940*) (Rugby Football (Captain, 1947), Cricket, Athletic Sports (Rugby International)); and A. A. JORDAN (*Idaho, West Point and Brasenose, 1947*) (Athletic Sports, Lacrosse, Basketball). J. L. MERRILL (*California and Christ Church, 1924*), besides winning a Blue for Boxing and a Half-Blue for Swimming, was in Trial VIII's in 1924 and 1926.

Double Blues (or Blue and Half-Blue) have been won by 90 Rhodes Scholars. Two others rowed against Cambridge during the emergency period when Blues were not awarded. The late Col. I. R. SCHIMMELPFENNIG (*Nebraska, West Point and Lincoln, 1930*, killed in action, 1945), besides competing against Cambridge in Lacrosse, won the Heavyweight Boxing Championship of the Universities of Great Britain in 1932. (He was unfortunately prevented by illness from representing Oxford against Cambridge.)

The comparison between pre-war and post-war athletic successes is mentioned above (p. 180).

In addition to the comparatively small number (7) who have rowed against Cambridge, 13 have been in Trial VIII's.

Six Rhodes Scholars have competed against Cambridge in Chess, which, if not an outdoor sport, is certainly one of mental athletics.

The distribution of Blues and Half-Blues has been as follows:

ASSOCIATION FOOTBALL (Full)	.	.	5
ATHLETIC SPORTS (Full or Half)	.	.	93

Six of these have been Presidents of the O.U.A.C., viz. the late L. C. HULL (*Michigan and Brasenose*, 1907); the late BEVIL RUDD (*St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and Trinity*, 1913); Sir ARTHUR PORRITT (*New Zealand and Magdalen*, 1923); the late J. E. LOVELOCK (*New Zealand and Exeter*, 1931); F. A. S. GENTRY (*Virginia and Christ Church*, 1933); and P. F. D. WALLIS (*St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and Trinity*, 1946).¹ There have been 8 Olympic performers, viz. BEVIL RUDD, W. S. KENT HUGHES (*Victoria and Christ Church*, 1915), President W. E. STEVENSON (*New Jersey and Balliol*, 1922), D. MOFFAT JOHNSON (*Quebec and Balliol*, 1923), Sir ARTHUR PORRITT, W. G. KALAUGHER (*New Zealand and Balliol*, 1927), J. E. LOVELOCK and E. L. PHILIP (*India and Christ Church*, 1948); while R. E. M. BLAKEWAY (*Eastern Province and Wadham*, 1935) represented Great Britain against Finland in 1937 and established a record for the Javelin. Others who have established records in different events are G. M. SPROULE (*Victoria and Balliol*, 1911) (3 miles, 1913), J. E. LOVELOCK (World Record for Mile, Olympic Games, 1933) and A. J. BURGER (*Orange Free State and Hertford*, 1949) (Pole Vault, 1952).

BADMINTON (Half) 5

A. C. FINDLAY (*Nova Scotia and Brasenose*, 1936) was Captain in 1938.

BASKETBALL (Half) 24

This game, played almost entirely by Rhodes Scholars from U.S.A. and Canada, has increased in popularity of recent years and was classified for a Half-Blue after the second war. Four Rhodes Scholars have been Captains of the Oxford team.

BOXING (Full) 23

In this sport the name of E. P. F. EAGAN (*Colorado and New College*, 1922), who boxed as heavyweight for U.S.A. in the Olympic Games in 1924, is pre-eminent. Few amateur boxers

¹ Add (1955): G. H. JEFFRIES (*New Zealand and Magdalen*, 1952).

have had a higher reputation. The performance of the late Col. SCHIMMELPFENNIG has already been mentioned.

CRICKET (Full) 20

Five of these have been Captains of the Oxford team, viz. B. W. HONE (*South Australia and New College, 1930*) (also Lawn Tennis Blue); R. E. LUYT (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and Trinity, 1936*) (also Rugby Blue); C. B. VAN RYNEVELD (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and University, 1947*) (also International Cricket for South Africa and Rugby Blue and International); M. B. HOFMEYR (*Cape Province and Worcester, 1948*) (also Rugby Blue and International); and A. L. DOWDING (*South Australia and Balliol, 1950*). J. A. DUNNING (*New Zealand and New College, 1925*), though he did not obtain a Blue at Oxford, represented New Zealand in Test Matches in 1933 and 1937, and J. P. DUMINY (*South African College School and University, 1919*) played for South Africa on several occasions.

CROSS-COUNTRY RUNNING (Full or Half) 8

L. R. MCINTYRE (*Tasmania and Exeter, 1933*) was Captain of the Oxford team in 1935, besides being First Reserve for the English team in 1939.

FENCING (Half) 5

R. H. SNOW (*Illinois and Merton, 1922*) was Captain in 1925.

GOLF (Full or Half) 7

R. H. BAUGH (*Alabama and Wadham, 1927*) was Captain in 1930.

GYMNASISTICS (Half) 1

HOCKEY (Full) 5

The late W. M. JONES (*New Zealand and Balliol, 1914*) played for Wales in 1924 and G. MACDONALD (*Orange Free State and Balliol, 1919*) played for Scotland in 1923.

ICE HOCKEY (Half) 87

Eleven have been Captains of the Oxford team, and the following have been International players: C. S. CAMPBELL, Q.C. (*Alberta and Lincoln*, 1926), who was Captain of the English team in 1929 and is now President of the National Hockey League of Canada; L. C. BONNYCASTLE (*Manitoba and Wadham*, 1929); O. A. GRATIAS (*Saskatchewan and Brasenose*, 1930); C. H. LITTLE (*Ontario and Brasenose*, 1930); E. RUSSELL HOPKINS (*Saskatchewan and Queen's*, 1932); J. E. NADEAU (*New Brunswick and Brasenose*, 1932).

JU-JITSU (JUDO) (Half) 5

LACROSSE (Half) 134

Nine have been Captains of the Oxford team, and one, A. E. GRAUER (*British Columbia and University*, 1927), played for Canada in the Olympic Games in 1928.

LAWN TENNIS (Full or Half) 41

The Oxford team has been captained by the following 10 Rhodes Scholars: the late Dr. W. R. REYNELL (*South Australia and Balliol*, 1906); A. B. GRAVEM (*California and Oriel*, 1918); Sir ALAN WATT (*New South Wales and Oriel*, 1921); J. P. CARLETON (*New Hampshire and Magdalen*, 1922); D. J. R. SUMNER (*South Australia and Magdalen*, 1923); C. L. BURWELL (*Tennessee and Merton*, 1932); L. E. KING (*New South Wales and New College*, 1936); F. R. MOTT-TRILLE (*Jamaica and St. John's*, 1948); J. R. FROLIK (*California and Merton*, 1948); P. M. M. DE WET (*Natal and Trinity*, 1949).

In addition, one Rhodes Scholar, B. L. S. FRANKLIN (*Orange Free State and Brasenose*, 1938), played for Oxford against Cambridge during the emergency period when only unofficial 'War Blues' were awarded.

ROYAL TENNIS (Full or Half) 1

Only one Rhodes Scholar, J. R. FROLIK (see above), has represented Oxford against Cambridge in this ancient game.

POLO (Half)	.	.	.	.	2
RACKETS (Full or Half)	.	.	.	.	1
RELAY RACES (Half)	.	.	.	.	42

G. N. LAIDLAW (*New Brunswick and University, 1934*) competed in the International Relays in Paris in 1935.

RIFLE (Half)	.	.	.	.	7
ROWING (Full)	.	.	.	.	7

The following compose this small and select group: Dr. and Col. C. W. B. LITTLEJOHN (*Victoria and New College, 1909*); Professor (Bacteriology) and Lt.-Col. H. K. WARD, M.C. with two Bars (*New South Wales and New College, 1911*); the late N. H. MACNEIL, M.C. (*Victoria and Balliol, 1914*); the late Professor Sir HUGH CAIRNS (*South Australia and Balliol, 1917*); J. A. INGLES (*Tasmania and Magdalen, 1927*); Dr. W. W. WOODWARD (*New South Wales and Brasenose, 1946*), also an Olympic representative of Australia; K. H. KENISTON (*Michigan and Balliol, 1951*).

It will be observed that, with one exception, all these Blues have come from Australia, and that rowing seems to have some special affinity with distinction in Medicine.

A 'War Blue' was obtained by H. D. HICKS (*Nova Scotia and Exeter, 1937*).

RUGBY FIVES (Half)	1
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The sole Rhodes Scholar exponent of this game to represent Oxford is G. L. BROWN (*South Dakota and Brasenose, 1938*).

RUGBY FOOTBALL (Full)	65
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More Rhodes Scholars have achieved special distinction in this game, which certainly fulfils the Founder's description of 'manly', than in any other. There has been a long succession of International Caps, of whom the first was the late R. H. WILLIAMSON (*St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and Trinity, 1906*). He has been followed by the late G. V. PORTUS (*New South Wales and*

New College, 1907), who, however, did not obtain his Blue at Oxford; C. M. GILRAY, M.C. (*New Zealand and University, 1907*); S. N. CRONJÉ (*St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and Trinity, 1907*); the late R. H. M. HANDS (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and University, 1907*, died of wounds, 1918); the late R. O. LAGDEN (*South Africa and Oriel, 1908*, see p. 258 above); the late L. G. BROWN, F.R.C.S. (*Queensland and Balliol, 1909*); the late S. S. L. STEYN (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and University, 1909*, killed in action, 1917); Mr. Justice V. H. NESER (*Transvaal and Brashorn, 1918*); T. LAWTON (*Queensland and New College, 1921*); A. C. WALLACE (*New South Wales and New College, 1922*); the late G. G. AITKEN (*New Zealand and St. John's, 1922*); Dr. H. G. OWEN SMITH (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and Magdalen, 1930*); Professor M. M. COOPER (*New Zealand and University, 1934*); the late H. D. FREAKES (*Natal and Magdalen, 1936*, killed on active service, 1942); M. J. DAVIES (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and Trinity, 1938*), though not a Blue; B. H. TRAVERS (*New South Wales and New College, 1940*); S. C. NEWMAN (*Transvaal and Exeter, 1940*); J. O. NEWTON THOMPSON (*Cape Province and Trinity, 1940*); G. L. CAWKWELL (*New Zealand and Christ Church, 1946*); C. B. VAN RYNEVELD (*Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and University, 1947*); M. B. HOFMEYR (*Cape Province and Worcester, 1948*); H. D. SMALL (*Transvaal and St. John's, 1949*).

Two Rhodes Scholars have been Captains of England as well as of Oxford, both medical men—the late L. G. BROWN, F.R.C.S., and Dr. H. G. OWEN SMITH. Besides these, the following have captained Oxford: W. W. HOSKIN (*St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and Trinity, 1904*); T. W. GUBB (*St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, and University, 1927*); the late S. J. HOFMEYR (*Cape Province and University, 1928*); N. K. LAMPORT (*New South Wales and Balliol, 1930*); M. M. COOPER (see above); H. D. FREAKES (see above).

Rugby Football is a different game from American Football, but three United States Rhodes Scholars have won Blues at Oxford, viz. D. G. HERRING (*New Jersey and Merton, 1907*); A. C. VALENTINE (*Pennsylvania and Balliol, 1922*), who also re-

presented the United States in the Olympic Games in 1924; and F. L. HOVDE (*North Dakota and Brasenose*, 1929). The two latter have been Presidents of Universities in the United States.¹

SKI (Half) 9

Two Quebec Scholars have captained the Oxford team—P. H. C. LANGLAIS (*Quebec and Wadham*, 1946) and GUY CÔTÉ (*Quebec and St. John's*, 1947).

SQUASH RACKETS (Full) 3

R. F. PENNINGTON (*Natal and Trinity*, 1946) was Captain 1947-49.

SWIMMING (Half) 34

Dr. F. MUNROE BOURNE (*Quebec and University*, 1932) represented Canada in its Olympic Swimming Team in 1928, 1932 and 1936, and was its Captain in 1936.

WATER POLO (Half) 11

SUMMARY OF BLUES AND HALF-BLUES

Association Football	. . . . .	5
Athletic Sports	. . . . .	93
Badminton	. . . . .	5
Basketball	. . . . .	24
Boxing	. . . . .	23
Cricket	. . . . .	20
Cross-Country Running	. . . . .	8
Fencing	. . . . .	5
Golf	. . . . .	7
Gymnastics	. . . . .	1
Hockey	. . . . .	5
Ice Hockey	. . . . .	87
Ju-Jitsu (Judo)	. . . . .	5
Lacrosse	. . . . .	134
Lawn Tennis	. . . . .	41

¹ Add (1955): V. W. JONES (*California and Brasenose*, 1953).

Royal Tennis	.	.	.	.	1
Polo	.	.	.	.	2
Rackets	.	.	.	.	1
Relay Races	.	.	.	.	42
Rifle	.	.	.	.	7
Rowing	.	.	.	.	7
Rugby Fives	1
Rugby Football	65
Ski	9
Squash Rackets	3
Swimming	34
Water Polo	11
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					646
<i>Postscript, add 30, 1953-54</i>		.	.	.	<hr/>
					30
					<hr/>
					676

Postscript, April, 1955.

The following additional Blues and Half-Blues were obtained during the academic year 1953-54:

Rowing: Two (President and Secretary of the Boat Club).
 Cricket: One.
 Rugby Football: Three.
 Athletics: One.
 Hockey: One.
 Lawn Tennis: One.
 Golf: One.
 Boxing: One.
 Lacrosse: Two.
 Ice Hockey: Seven.
 Ski: One.
 Badminton: One.
 Basketball: Seven.
 Sailing: One.

L. P. MACLACHLAN (*Rhodesia and Exeter, 1951*) represented Scotland at Rugby Football in four matches.

APPENDIX

TRUSTEES AND OFFICERS OF THE RHODES TRUST 1955

THE TRUSTEES

The Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery, C.H.
Sir Edward Peacock, G.C.V.O.
The Very Reverend John Lowe, D.D., Dean of Christ Church.
The Rt. Hon. Lord Hailey, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.
The Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald, P.C.
C. H. G. Millis, Esq., D.S.O., M.C., O.B.E.
Professor K. C. Wheare, C.M.G., F.B.A.
Sir George Abell, K.C.I.E.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The Rt. Hon. Lord Elton.

WARDEN OF RHODES HOUSE

E. T. Williams, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.

OVERSEAS SECRETARIES

Australia: Professor G. W. Paton, Vice-Chancellor of Melbourne University.
Bermuda: R. L. Barnard.
Canada: D. R. Michener, Q.C., M.P.
India: C. Eyre Walker.
Jamaica: Assistant Secretary of the Education Authority.
Malta: Dr. Jos. A. Manch, Vice-Chancellor of the Royal University of Malta.
New Zealand: I. F. McKenzie, Registrar of the University of New Zealand.

APPENDIX

Pakistan: The Hon. Mr. Justice J. Orcheson, C.B.E.

Rhodesia: L. R. Morgan.

South Africa: A. H. Gie.

The United States: Courtney Smith, President of Swarthmore College.

